

# Current History

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NOVEMBER, 1974

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## CHANGING BLACK AMERICA

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# Current History

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*In this issue, seven articles focus on the special problems of American blacks today. In the last two decades, the position of blacks in America has changed and the black perception of American society has also shifted. What has happened to the civil rights movement? As our introductory article points out: "The achievements of the civil rights movement and its leadership in the 1960's . . . had unintended consequences. As political leaders . . . the civil rights leaders lacked the authority and influence—the political clout—that could sustain and increase federal efforts to meet the massive social-economic needs of blacks."*

## From Civil Rights to Party Politics: The Black Political Transition

BY MARTIN KILSON

*Professor of Government, Harvard University*

IN THE 1880's, when white immigrant ethnic groups were learning to master the American political system through emergent city party machines, blacks were experiencing the terrible trauma of disfranchisement. Their political rights were destroyed by violence, including the most capricious violent act of white supremacists against blacks: lynching. Within a decade, the federal government's policy of Reconstruction, offering blacks equality at the polls and the right to hold elected office at all levels of government, was eradicated. Political participation comparable to that enjoyed by white immigrant ethnic groups was available to blacks only through migration out of the South—to the cities of the East, North, Middle West, and West. Nonetheless, in the succeeding half-century, more than half the Negro population remained in the South. For example, only 10 percent left the South by 1910, 23 percent by 1930, 32 percent by 1950, and 40 percent by 1960.

Migration from the South offered Negroes their only opportunity for significant political participation. By World War I, the numbers of Negroes outside the South were large enough to require some at-

tention from city machines (see Table I, inside back cover). Yet racist constraints on Negro access to the institutional life of American society were nationwide; white-controlled city machines outside the South truncated the political participation of blacks. As Herbert Gans has observed, the typical city machines "gerrymandered [black] ghetto neighborhoods so that they would not have to share their power with Negroes."<sup>1</sup> Such practices played havoc with Negro political development outside the South for half a century.

Above all, the neglect of blacks by white-controlled city machines or the half-hearted inclusion of blacks permitted by these machines deprived Afro-Americans of a primary mode of political influence that had been available to white ethnic groups—namely, the use of ethnic patterns as the basis for political activity, and for the integration of an ethnic community into the politics of the city and thus of the nation (the politization of ethnicity). To the extent that any ethnic group was successful in so organizing itself in the first half of the twentieth century, it could claim a reasonably effective share of city-based political rewards; through subsequent congressional and presidential politics it could realize a share of federal benefits as well. On the other hand, a group that was excluded or was only poorly integrated in this process

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Gans, "The Ghetto Rebellions and Urban Class Conflict," in Robert Connery, ed., *Urban Riots* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 52–53.

did not have an adequate power base for acquiring either local or federal benefits.

The latter was the typical experience of the hundreds of thousands of Negroes living in cities outside the South in the era between 1900 and 1950. Chicago provided the only significant exception to this pattern; there, with the aid of a reasonably color-blind white machine boss in the 1920's (William Hale "Big Bill" Thompson), the black ghetto was allowed full-fledged inclusion in Chicago's machine politics. As a result, Chicago's blacks were the first blacks in the country to politicize their ethnic characteristics (their racial attitudes, social clubs, churches, professional groups, even the criminal underworld) as a way to realize political influence. The political clout they achieved was substantial. For example, by 1915, the first Negro councilman was elected to the Chicago City Council; Negro ward leaders were installed by the 1920's—especially the masterful Edward "Bulldog" Wright, a lawyer who fashioned an effective machine organization in the Negro wards. In 1928, the first Negro congressman was elected from Chicago—Oscar DePriest. Another benefit gained in Chicago in the era between the two World Wars was employment for working class blacks: in 1930, Chicago blacks held 25 percent of the 11,888 postal service jobs, although blacks were only 6.9 percent of the city's population; and in 1932, they held 6.4 percent of the 29,702 city civil service jobs.<sup>2</sup> Although it was increasingly difficult to sustain this level of benefits for Chicago's blacks in the 1940's and 1950's, it is notable that Chicago had the only Negro city population to sustain two generations of congressional politicians: Oscar DePriest, a Republican, was followed in the 1930's by Arthur Mitchell, a Democrat, who was followed by William Dawson, a Democrat (1940–1970), who was followed by Ralph Metcalfe and Mr. and Mrs. George Collins.

Aside from Chicago, the experience of Negroes with city machines outside the South was one of relative neglect. The worst aspect of this neglect was that, for the first five decades of this century, the black elites and the black middle class were deprived of the power inducements provided by city political machines. Whereas city machines helped the elites among the Irish, Poles, Jews, Italians, and other white

ethnic groups to establish an effective political organization of their communities by transforming their voters into cannon-fodder for city machines,<sup>3</sup> the black bourgeoisie was not induced to exert its leadership skills and institutions (e.g., its clubs and associations, interest organizations like the National Negro Bar Association, the National Negro Business League, the National Negro Medical Association) to politicize the Negro lower strata in order to bring black votes to the service of city machines. Thus, in Philadelphia politics in the years between the two World Wars, Negroes comprised 11 percent of the population and 10 percent of the registered voters, but the Negro elites were all but excluded from an effective leadership role in the city machines. For example, in 1932, there was only 1 Negro ward leader out of 102 ward leaders; some 30 years later, in 1960, when Negroes comprised 26 percent of the population and 20 percent of the registered voters, there were only 10 Negro ward leaders (8 percent) out of a total of 118 ward leaders. The relative neglect of Negro elites on the part of Philadelphia's political machines was typical of other areas of political power as well, i.e., in the fields of education, public works and the judicial system.

The failure of the mainstream of American politics to include Negro elites in its power structures in the years between 1900 and 1950 forced blacks to find alternative channels of political expression and organization. The major forms of political organization available to the Negro elites in this era were clientage politics and the civil rights movement.

### CIVIL RIGHTS POLITICS

Clientage politics and the civil rights movement were essentially two parts of the same political process—a process of black dependency on white friends. They differed in that clientage politics was usually limited to an individual (a clergyman, a doctor, a lawyer, an educator) whereas civil rights politics assumed a more institutional form, through an organization with a permanent staff, a budget, a political manifesto, and an ideological élan. Of course, this classification is not perfect. Some Negro clientage politicians also functioned within organizations, especially within middle class Negro professional and civic associations. And at the same time Negro clientage politicians sought, in their own way, the goals of civil rights organizations—namely, the reduction of explicit constraints imposed by whites on black access to the institutions of American society.

Dr. George E. Cannon, a Negro medical doctor in Jersey City, New Jersey, was a typical Negro clientage politician in the first 25 years of this century.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Cannon's status as a Negro leader was realized initially and was sustained through a network of personal links with influential and powerful white pa-

<sup>2</sup> These data are found in Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 239, 304.

<sup>3</sup> See Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States: A Study of Twenty Municipal Bosses* (Durham: AMS Press, 1931). See also Theodore Lowi, *At the Pleasure of the Mayor: Patronage and Power in New York City, 1898–1958* (New York: Free Press, 1964).

<sup>4</sup> The following account of Dr. Cannon's clientage political role is based upon Dennis Clark Dickerson, "George E. Cannon: Black Churchman, Physician, and Republican Politician," *Journal of Presbyterian History* (Winter, 1973), pp. 411–432.



trons, usually Republicans, who functioned as patrons for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the reasons were religious and emotional; sometimes they were strictly political—to influence the behavior of middle class Negroes and, through them, the behavior of other Negroes as well. The Negro client, on the other hand, was usually middle class (a clergyman, teacher, lawyer), he had the means (a church, a school or college, a law practice) through which an influential white patron could achieve certain desired behavior or activity on the part of blacks.<sup>5</sup> Thus a Negro clergyman might help a white businessman to mobilize a supply of Negro workers and might discourage labor unions among them. Or a Negro doctor or lawyer, partially recruited into a city or state organization of the Republican party, might help a white Republican leader to control Negro voters or to discourage them from voting. Dr. George Cannon was a clientage politician of this variety; he successfully penetrated the Republican party in New Jersey at all levels—city (Jersey City), county (Hudson County), state, and national. He helped New Jersey white Republicans to exercise influence over middle class Negro voters, and in return he received largely symbolic rewards. For example, he was elected by whites to the Republican National Convention in 1924, where he had the honor of seconding the presidential nomination of Calvin Coolidge.

Like many Negro clientage politicians in this era, Dr. Cannon attempted to translate his clientage political role into civil rights benefits for Negroes. For example, he urged a strong statement on behalf of Negro equality in the Republican platform in 1924, but was repulsed. However, he had some success in getting the Republican administration to open medical appointments for Negro doctors and to give Negro doctors an important role in the medical facilities established for veterans by the federal government in Tuskegee, Alabama, after World War I.

It was, of course, the explicit civil rights leadership and its organizations that realized the greatest gains in civil rights for Negroes in the years between the two World Wars. Civil rights organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP), founded in 1910–1912, and the National Urban League, founded in 1916, were gen-

eral-purpose organizations, serving the needs and concerns of Negroes in education, housing, public accommodations, employment, medicine and health. Unlike the Negro clientage politicians, the civil rights bureaucracy dealt directly and explicitly with white racist constraints on Negro needs in these fields. Furthermore, although the NAACP and the Urban League—and from the 1940's onward the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—had ties with white patrons, these ties differed from those of the Negro clientage politicians; the white patrons were usually liberal and even had an activist ideological orientation, favoring change in racial practices. These characteristics combined to give the NAACP and other organizations the dominant role in civil rights politics in the years between the two World Wars and even afterward.

The NAACP was the preeminent civil rights pressure group. From small beginnings in 1912—with 300 members—the NAACP had 80 branches and 82,000 members by the 1920's; and over the next 30 years its branches numbered in the hundreds and its membership approached a million. Equally important, its white patrons became more than patrons—they became allies, persons increasingly willing to take significant risks and to expend significant resources (financial, strategic vantage-points) in behalf of civil rights advancement for blacks. During the years from 1940 to 1965, these white allies enabled the NAACP to launch a reasonably successful legal and legislative onslaught against racial barriers to Negro advancement in higher education, employment, the armed forces, public accommodations, public schools, and electoral participation. Because they were legislators, federal court judges, educators, and media officials in radio, newspapers, and television, these white allies facilitated the pressure group and legal actions of the NAACP, CORE, and the SCLC in a variety of civil rights areas.

Thus in the 1940's, the federal courts slowly reversed the racist, lily-white practices with regard to law schools in the South—and by implication elsewhere in the country—and exclusionary practices in the electoral processes were legally undermined. The major victory of the allies of Negroes in the federal courts was the Supreme Court's May, 1954, decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (347 U.S. 483), overruling the Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537), which had held as constitutional the "separate but equal" doctrine in public education.<sup>6</sup> Even more important for Negro civil rights was the continuing action of the federal executive. This was initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's promulgation of Executive Order 8802 during World War II (partly under the pressure of A. Philip Randolph's ad hoc civil rights organization,

<sup>5</sup> There were thousands of such Negro clientage politicians—large and small—in the first half of the twentieth century. No serious study of them has been made thus far. They were more pervasive outside the South but existed in the South as well. See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962). See also my article in Nathan Huggins, Martin Kilson, Daniel Fox, eds., *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 171–174, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> One of best accounts of the role of the courts in civil rights is Loren Miller, *The Petitioners: The Story of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Negro* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966).

The March on Washington), establishing a Fair Employment Practices Committee to monitor discrimination in factories with federal war contracts. Roosevelt's action in the employment area made it clear to the NAACP and other civil rights organizations that a major role in future advances for Negroes would be played by the federal executive and, through the executive, by the Congress.

### CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Thus throughout the post-World War II era, the strategy of the civil rights movement was to encourage action by the federal government. The administration of President Harry S. Truman accepted some major responsibility in this regard, especially in the area of employment of Negroes in the federal bureaucracy (so crucial to the subsequent growth of the Negro middle class) and in the area of Negro equality in the armed forces. Even the eight years of the Republican administrations of President Dwight Eisenhower, despite Eisenhower's belief that "you cannot change people's hearts merely by laws," saw the first major civil rights legislation since 1875: the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the Civil Rights Act of 1960, which had a modest impact in advancing Negro voting rights in the South (Table II, inside back cover).

Then came eight years of the liberal Democratic administrations of President John F. Kennedy (1960-1963) and President Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963-1968), which resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, establishing inter alia a permanent federal government presence in securing equal opportunity for Negroes in employment,<sup>7</sup> and the Civil Rights Act of 1968, establishing inter alia a permanent federal government presence in the provision of open housing for Negroes.<sup>8</sup> A crucial breakthrough in Negro political participation in the South was also realized in the Kennedy-Johnson era with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which placed the full authority of the federal government behind the total restoration of Negro enfranchisement (Table II, inside back cover).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the passage of the

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 established the federal government as an agent in the upgrading of the downtrodden Negro poor in American cities; it also affected the quality of Negro political participation insofar as a provision for "maximum feasible participation" required a special effort to give the urban poor a direct role in the administration of billions of dollars of federal funds in the War on Poverty.

Finally, these extraordinary instances of the growth of federal initiatives in civil rights<sup>10</sup> were reinforced in the Kennedy-Johnson years by the appointment of many members of the Negro elite to important federal positions. Thus Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP's leading lawyer in the 1940's and the 1950's, was the first Negro appointed to the Supreme Court; Robert Weaver, an official of the National Urban League, was the first Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. And even under the conservative Republican administrations of President Richard Nixon the federal civil service continued to give special opportunities to Negroes, facilitating the extraordinary expansion of the Negro middle classes to nearly 30 percent of the Negro population in the past 20 years. Thus a Civil Service Commission survey in 1972 reported:

The number of blacks in federal jobs ranked GS-9 and above—the top half of the government's jobs—has risen 28% since May 1970. . . . As of last November blacks held 29,796 or 4.7% of the jobs in the GS grades 9 to 18 range. Much of the gain reflects workers hired in the 1960's who are "progressing nicely up the ladder," a spokesman says. Negroes hold 15.3% of all federal jobs, the figures show. Other minorities fill another 4.7% of the positions. Of 5,712 jobs at the highest GS grades 16 to 18, blacks hold 145 or 2.5%; Spanish-surnamed hold 33; American Indians, 12, and Orientals, 23. The gains in minority hiring come at a time when federal employment is falling; full-time federal jobs decreased by 31,703 in the year ended November 30th.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the white allies of the Negro civil rights movement from the 1940's through the 1960's helped to augment the meager gains that the movement had achieved in the preceding era. These allies, a relatively small sector of the white American elite in education, the media, business, and government, acted out of some measure of commitment to the liberal principles of American democracy. This commitment, in turn, enabled them to respond in concrete ways to the activism and militancy that developed in the Negro civil rights movement from the middle 1950's onward. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., founder and leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) initiated a new stage in civil rights pressure-group politics with his strategy of nonviolent activism against all facets of white racism in American life, starting with the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott movement in 1956.<sup>12</sup> Other established civil rights organizations followed King's

<sup>7</sup> See Alexander M. Bickel, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," *Commentary* (August, 1964), pp. 33-39.

<sup>8</sup> See Alexander M. Bickel, "The Belated Civil Rights Legislation of 1968," *New Republic* (March 30, 1968), pp. 11-12. For earlier and more limited action of the executive in housing, see Charles Abrams, "The Housing Order and Its Limits," *Commentary* (January, 1963), pp. 10-14.

<sup>9</sup> See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation: A Study of the Participation by Negroes in the Electoral and Political Processes in 10 Southern States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

<sup>10</sup> See Harold C. Fleming, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, 1961-1965," *Daedalus* (Fall, 1965), pp. 921-948.

<sup>11</sup> Summarized in *The Wall Street Journal* (July 7, 1973).

<sup>12</sup> See Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958).

leadership in the strategy of nonviolent activism<sup>13</sup>—especially CORE, led by James Farmer, and the NAACP. NAACP leader, Roy Wilkins, shrewdly moved this veteran civil rights body into greater activism while eschewing the powerful extremist proclivities of younger members, who were influenced by new groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, led by Stokely Carmichael and John Lewis, and the Black Muslims.

The initial response of the white supremacist leadership in the South to civil rights activism was local and state resistance and widespread police violence. This strategy was followed throughout the deep South between 1960 and 1965, gaining national prominence in Birmingham, Montgomery, Selma and elsewhere. There is little doubt that the violence of the defenders of white supremacy—along with the extraordinary moral quality of the civil rights activist leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr.—played an important role in prodding the white allies of the civil rights movement. The murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., by a white assassin in the spring of 1968 did not significantly alter the attitude of indifference of the average white toward Negro civil rights.<sup>14</sup> But it was traumatic for the white allies of the civil rights movement—a catalyst to a fundamental change in the way American institutions in the spheres of education, law, and government had supported or remained indifferent to racist oppression in American life.

### POLITICS OF BLACK ETHNICITY

The achievements of the civil rights movement and its leadership in the 1960's—still the preeminent political leadership among Negroes in that decade—had unintended consequences. The movement's success in stimulating a massive presence of the federal government in the affairs of Negroes—especially the affairs of that 40 percent of the Negroes who were poor and lower class—created a situation in which the Negro's appetite was whetted for further changes. As political leaders, however, the civil rights leaders lacked the authority and influence—the political clout—that could sustain and increase federal efforts

to meet the massive social-economic needs of blacks. In American politics, this kind of political authority is accorded only to elected politicians. The organization of civil rights leadership outside party politics—and thus outside the competition for elected office—prevented this leadership from achieving the most legitimate type of American political leadership.

The political history of American blacks since the middle 1960's is in large part the history of the new Afro-American political class: the black elected official or party politician. The emergence of this new class is closely linked with the politization of the American Negro's ethnic experiences. Politization facilitates what can be called the vertical integration of an ethnic group's social structure, reducing the normally sharp status and class cleavages within an ethnic group. Oscar Handlin, Robert Merton, and other students of American social structure have long recognized the importance of the politization of ethnic social structures through city machine politics.<sup>15</sup> Politization was one of the few ways to enhance an ethnic group's political efficacy—its capacity for unified action—in the face of limited political resources, societal barriers, and the keen competition of city politics. Because of their relative exclusion from city machines in the years between 1900 and 1960, urban Negroes were deprived of this crucial political experience for more than two generations.

Afro-Americans began to politicize their ethnicity in the 1960's. The process had many unique features. For one thing, political militancy and a sharp conflict with American ideals were characteristic of a strong ethnic identification among blacks—both middle class and lower strata blacks—in the 1960's. The excessive racist stigmatization of the Negro in American society, the failure of his claim to cultural and social parity with whites, made this necessary. For the Negro lower strata—the lower class and the working class—the quest for a viable ethnic identification entailed riotous and violent anti-white behavior. This is essentially what the black ghetto riots between 1964 and 1970 (nationwide in scale and impact) were about. The Negro lower strata participated disproportionately in the riots.<sup>16</sup>

The black ghetto riots of the middle 1960's marked a turning point in the political status and the behavior of American Negroes. They revealed a leadership or power vacuum in the black community: through the riots the 70–75 percent of Negroes who are lower class and working class displayed a form of estrangement from American politics. The riots were, therefore, an ideal occasion—in some respects a revolutionary occasion—for a new political leadership.

A group of militant leaders from the Negro lower classes made the initial bid to supply this new political leadership, to fill the power vacuum that the riots reflected. Some of them thought the situation was

<sup>13</sup> The pragmatic dimension of Dr. King's strategy gained much from the advice of one of his major aides, Bayard Rustin. See, e.g., Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary* (February, 1965), pp. 35–40.

<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1969 some 52% of whites believed blacks were "getting full equality," compared with only 17% of blacks; and only 19% of whites believed blacks were discriminated against "in the way treated by police," compared to 76% of blacks.

<sup>15</sup> See Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little Brown, 1951); Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> Data on the social class attributes of Negro rioters in the 1960's are found in National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968). This is commonly called the "Kerner Report."



genuinely revolutionary and thus attempted to supply revolutionary leadership, but to no avail. Other lower class militants made a bid for more formal political roles. They were aided in this effort by the federal War on Poverty program, which (beginning in late 1964) provided for the widespread local participation of the urban poor. Administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the War on Poverty allocated over \$5 billion to urban communities between 1965 and 1971. The so-called community action committees that were established to facilitate "maximum feasible participation"—to quote the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—provided the lower class militant leaders with an instrument (money, organization, issues) for a formal leadership bid in the urban black ghettos.<sup>17</sup>

The leadership bid of the lower strata black militants failed, however. A primary reason for their failure was their lower class life style; they were, typically, school dropouts, ghetto hustlers, quasi-criminals, and sometimes (in some cities often) with criminal records.<sup>18</sup> Thus the lower strata militants—perhaps better called "poverty politicians"—failed because they lacked the habits, values, and styles of behavior required for a durable political leadership role. They lacked the long-range orientation that is fundamental to political leadership; they preferred the short-run outlook and fast rewards that required no sustained effort.<sup>19</sup>

Yet in their brief appearance, the poverty politicians left a significant legacy to the new politics of black solidarity that they helped to launch. They stamped this black politics with a lower class motif: the experiences and concerns of the Negro lower strata rather than the black bourgeoisie acquired significant status. The significance of this cannot be overemphasized; it signaled a profoundly important difference between the older civil rights politics and the new party-based politics of black solidarity.

The new class of black elected politicians, leaders of the new politics of black solidarity, is required to cast its leadership in terms of the lower class motif and criteria that the poverty politicians established. The

new class of black elected officials must, therefore, employ a political style that allows lower strata Negroes a heretofore unprecedented leverage. This amounts to a veritable revolution in the structure of American Negro politics. This politics now possesses a style—an ideological and symbolic mode—that facilitates vertical political links among the various social strata in the Negro community, which in turn guarantee unified political action and enhance the Negro's political efficacy.

## THE BLACK ELECTED POLITICIANS

The current political status of the American Negro is distinguished from his status in the period between the two World Wars by the existence of a sizable class of black elected politicians. In the years 1900–1960, elected Negro politicians numbered less than 300; other types of political leaders—clientage politicians and civil rights leaders—dominated Negro politics, and only a handful of Negroes obtained political leadership through city machines or party politics, as they did in Chicago.<sup>20</sup>

Today, there are some 3,000 black elected politicians, nearly 70 percent of whom live outside the South. They are found in 41 of the 50 states; they include 15 congressmen, over 170 state legislators, over 50 city mayors (including mayors, now or recently, in major cities like Cleveland, Newark, Gary, Raleigh, Atlanta, Los Angeles), nearly 600 city officials, and nearly 500 school-board officials.<sup>21</sup> They comprise nationally almost one percent of all elected American officials.

Both inside and outside the South the primary basis for the rise of the new Negro politician class is the enormous increase in Negro city dwellers between 1950 and 1970 (see Table III, inside back cover). Sharp increases in the voter registration of the new Negro city dwellers have also resulted in more black elected officials. In the South, a former civil rights leader of the early 1960's—John Lewis—has established himself (aided by the Ford Foundation and other sources) as a major force in registering Negro voters, through the Voters Registration Project, based in Atlanta. The National Urban League and the SCLC have also announced a major move into the field of voter registration. Negroes now constitute 30 percent of the population in 59 congressional districts. In the past decade, the new Negro politicians have effectively translated this situation into a new political status for Afro-Americans. Data on selected cities in Table IV (inside back cover) illustrate this new status.

What are the salient features of the new black politicians? First, they are largely middle class, with technical and professional skills as lawyers, doctors, engineers, businessmen, morticians, teachers, and administrators. Second, they are overwhelmingly newcomers to the black bourgeoisie. The majority of the

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Dale R. Marshall, *The Politics of Participation in Poverty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

<sup>18</sup> For a case study of lower strata militants in the West Side Organization in Chicago during the late 1960's, see W. Ellis, *White Ethics and Black Power* (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, Inc., 1971).

<sup>19</sup> In Boston, two of these militants or poverty politicians—Guido St. Laurent and Cornell Eaton—continued in quasi-criminal activities that resulted in their gangland-type murder. Their role as poverty politicians was apparently merely a cover for other activity.

<sup>20</sup> A list of Negro elected officials before World War II can be found in Monroe Work, ed., *The Negro Yearbook 1931–1932* (Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1932).

<sup>21</sup> See *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1974).



black elected officials come from stable working class or blue collar families; their fathers were semiskilled and skilled workers, often homeowners, and typically they aspired to upward mobility into the middle class for their offspring.

The new black politicians have effectively exploited their roots in the Negro lower strata in order to strengthen their legitimacy in the eyes of black masses. Thus, the new Negro politicians are ensured a much firmer status as leaders of blacks, in the eyes of the average black, than their predecessors in the civil rights organizations.

Two trends influencing the political status of black Americans should be mentioned. It is very likely that more Negro politicians will seek office in electoral districts where the Negro population is less than 20 percent, and thus is not capable in itself of electing a Negro. Edward Brooke, a Republican Senator from Massachusetts, pioneered this trend when he ran successfully first for Attorney General of Massachusetts in the late 1950's and later for Senator, becoming the first Negro to hold an elected executive state office and a United States Senate seat in this century.

What might be called the *Brooke syndrome* is, in fact, already in process in a unique segment of the new Negro political class. Wilson Riles demonstrated it in California in 1970 when, in a state where blacks are hardly one percent of the population, he defeated a conservative law-and-order candidate, Max Rafferty, for the post of Superintendent of Public Instruction, one of the most powerful executive offices in California. The Brooke syndrome was displayed again in California when Thomas Bradley, a lawyer and former policeman, ran successfully in 1973 for mayor of Los Angeles, where the black population is about 15 percent. And again in California—a conservative state in recent years—a Negro bid successfully for nomination as Lieutenant Governor for the first time in 1974, when State Senator Mervyn Dymally defeated two white candidates, winning 30 percent of the votes.

What is essential about this trend I call the Brooke syndrome is that black success depends on winning decisive support from white voters in situations that are not naturally conducive to this. This is difficult because of the racial polarization that took place during the 1960's.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, an increasing number of Negro politicians have the personality and the political skill necessary to attract white support. The implications of this for the future are enormous, because the still massive social-economic needs of about 60 percent of American Negroes cannot be met unless more whites relate to the new Negro political class.

In the near future, more Negro politicians will begin to master the processes of compromise and coalition that govern the creation of federal policy and the legislation that it requires. Until the past decade, only a few Negro political leaders had experienced the coalition process in the federal government. This small group included several congressmen elected before World War II—Oscar DePriest, Arthur Mitchell, William Dawson, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., several Negro lobbyists for civil rights organizations (e.g., the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell), and several Negro political strategists for the two major parties.

The coalition experience typical of Negro political leadership before the 1960's involved alliances between civil rights organizations and selected whites who shared common values and goals. The new Negro political class—at all government levels—must enter a more complex process of alliances and coalitions. The natural desire for ideological consistency in political interactions must be replaced by a strictly pragmatic approach. Such a coalition dynamic is both perplexing and traumatic. This trauma was reflected in the first two years of the operation of the Black Congressional Caucus—a legislative organization of the new Negro congressmen. Seeking ideological consistency, the Caucus defined the range and mode of legislative behavior for black congressmen by means of a strictly racial criterion. But it soon became apparent that the legislative process in Congress—the public policy it creates—cannot be effectively influenced if one holds such a restricted definition of the role of the black congressman.

Thus by 1973 the Black Congressional Caucus was beginning to differentiate its outlook and approaches. Negro congressmen, like white congressmen, must be recognized for the multifaceted figures they are: some are from military-industrial-complex states like California (e.g., Augustus Hawkins, R. Dellums, and Yvonne Braithwaite Burke); some are from traditional big industrial states like Illinois (e.g., Ralph Metcalfe and Mrs. George Collins); and some are from oil-bearing states like Texas (e.g., Barbara Jordan). These non-racial attributes of Negro congressmen influence their behavior in Congress as much as their ethnic attributes—and sometimes more. The new Negro political class must master this perplexing coalition process, so that American Negroes—after a century of second-class politics—can emerge into full-fledged political maturity. ■

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<sup>22</sup> For a case study of the impact of racial polarization on new black politicians, see Martin Kilson, *Political Dilemma of Black Mayors* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1974).

"Within the limitations for maneuverability in the American political system, Black politicians can be expected to acquire more power as the ethnic consciousness of the Black electorate intensifies. More Black public officials will be demanded, and a higher proportion of Black representatives in the executive, legislative, and judicial power structure will be sought."<sup>1</sup>

## The Black Politician

BY RONALD WALTERS

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THE PROPHECIC STATEMENT by Chuck Stone, cited above, was not only the best judgment of an activist scholar on the shape of black political power in the future as it concerned the quest for political leadership, but it was based on the solid record of electoral accomplishments in this field dating back to at least 1965. In August, 1965, the Voting Rights Act was passed by Congress, and since that time there has been a steady growth in the number of black people registered and in the number of black elected officials. Our focus, in this article, will be on the black politician, but one must discuss the politics that brought this phenomenon about and analyze the factors that might be responsible for Stone's optimistic projections. In this analysis, we must begin with the voter—the base of black political power and of the black politician.

If we recognize a relationship between voting and registration, then any increases in voting and registration are reflected in increases in the number of black elected officials.

**TABLE I: BLACK VOTING PATTERNS  
1964, 1968, 1972  
(thousands)**

Region	1964	1968	1972
Total	6,024	6,279	6,612
North and West	3,888	3,381	3,459
South	2,558	3,068	3,147

(Source: "Voting and Registration in the Election of 1972, Population Characteristics," *Current Population Reports*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Series P-20, no. 253 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), p. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Chuck Stone, *Black Political Power in America*, rev. ed. (New York: Dell, 1970), p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Levy and Michael S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Bardolph, ed., *The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 422.

In Table I, total figures show an orderly progression of increases in the number of black voters between 1964 and 1972. This, however, belies the actual fluctuations that occurred between 1964 and 1968. The raw decreases in the northwest may be rationalized by a negative showing of interest in the presidential contest between Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon; the result was an overall decrease of roughly 25 percent in the black vote.<sup>2</sup> In the South, newly enfranchised black voters went to the polls as the Civil Rights Bill of 1965 opened up the electoral process.

Figures for a ten-year period illustrate the impact of the 1965 Act on the registration rates of the black southerner (see Table II).

The coverage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 extended to those states where tests or other devices had been utilized as a racially discriminatory prerequisite to registration or voting as of November 1, 1964, or where less than 50 percent of the total voting-age population was registered or actually voted in the 1964 presidential election. The states that fell into either of these two categories were Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, and 26 counties in North Carolina.<sup>3</sup> In 1960, the states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia had the lowest registration percentages of all southern states, but by 1970 they were averaging nearly 65 percent as a group. All states, however, in this group, with the possible exception of Tennessee, showed striking gains in registration that were translated into voting gains. Nearly three million people have been registered since the 1965 act.

Higher levels of registration and voting, made possible by the Act of 1965, have been responsible for the sizable increases in the number of black elected officials: in the period from 1969 to 1974, there has been an increase in the total number of black elected officials from 1,185 to 2,991, an increase of 152 percent.

Most of this increase, again, is reflected in the gains made in the South:<sup>4</sup> Texas shows an increase of 328 percent; Georgia, 243 percent; South Carolina, 205 percent; Arkansas, 173 percent; North Carolina, 156 percent; and Mississippi, 136 percent.<sup>5</sup> Table III shows the increases in southern black elected officials as reflected in the higher participation rates.

The figures above show that there have been great increases in the total number of black elected officials in the southern states. The highest increases are in states like Alabama, 558 percent; Mississippi, 520 percent; Texas, 726 percent; South Carolina, 954 percent; and North Carolina, with a nearly 1,500 percent increase since 1968. At the least, this data reveals that all of the states originally covered under the 1965 Act have benefited not only in terms of increased political participation, as defined by registration and voting, but in terms of the resulting number of black elected officials.

### CAUSES

As in the case of nearly every significant achievement of the black community in America, the progress made in the field of electoral politics may be directly traced to the political movement. Events in Selma, Alabama, before the 1965 Act gave impetus toward a view of electoral politics as a viable avenue of black liberation.

One of the discoveries probably made by Martin Luther King on January 2, 1965, when he went to Brown Chapel Methodist Church to speak, was that only 335 blacks were registered to vote in Dallas County, the capital of the Black Belt, which was 57 percent black.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, Dallas County had a 43 percent white population and 9,543 whites were registered. King promised that he would return to lead "a march on the ballot boxes through Alabama," but it was possible to forget the original reason for the march in the violence of "bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965.

Reaction to this march, culminating in a national march on Montgomery where George Wallace sat as Governor, was so violent that it caught the attention of millions of Americans. Many of them went south to join the Selma-to-Montgomery march, and because of the violence of Sheriff Jim Clark's posse, the deaths of Reverend James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo, and the sentimental "we shall overcome" speech of President Lyndon B. Johnson, the administration bill

**TABLE II: REGISTRATION RATES IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES 1960-1970 (by percent)**

State	1960 <sup>1</sup>	1964 <sup>2</sup>	1968 <sup>2</sup>	1970 <sup>3</sup>
Alabama	13.7	19.3	51.6	64
Arkansas	38.0	40.4	62.8	72
Florida	39.4	51.2	63.6	67
Georgia	29.3	27.4	52.6	64
Louisiana	31.1	31.6	58.9	62
Mississippi	5.2	6.7	59.8	68
N. Carolina	39.1	46.8	51.3	55
S. Carolina	13.7	37.3	51.2	57
Tennessee	59.1	69.5	71.7	77
Texas	35.5	N/Av. <sup>4</sup>	61.6	85
Virginia	23.1	38.3	55.6	61

(Source: 1. Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Ga.; 2. *Political Participation*, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, May, 1968, p. 13; 3. Southern Regional Council, Fact Sheet, 1970; 4. N/Av.—not available.)

**TABLE III: SOUTHERN BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS 1964-1974**

State	1964 <sup>1</sup>	1965 <sup>1</sup>	1966 <sup>1</sup>	1967 <sup>1</sup>	1968 <sup>2</sup>	1974 <sup>3</sup>
Alabama	11	1	7	5	24	149
Arkansas					33	150
Florida		1	3	10	16	73
Georgia	2	10	6	3	21	137
Louisiana		3	7	27	37	149
Mississippi			1	28	29	191
N. Carolina		3		7	10	159
S. Carolina			7	4	11	116
Texas	1	4	7	3	15	124
Tennessee	1	6	16	3	26	87
Virginia	6	5	6	7	24	63

1. Voter Education Project Press Releases.

2. Summary, 1964-68.

3. National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1974, *op. cit.*

on voting rights, which had been introduced in Congress March 17, was signed into law August 6, 1965.<sup>7</sup> This measure began as a bipartisan piece of legislation, but the outcome was uncertain before the Selma incident and the Montgomery march because Congress had grown somewhat weary of the civil rights fights of President John F. Kennedy's administration. The impact of the bill was felt immediately after it was signed by the President, as the Attorney General dispersed federal examiners into some southern counties to make sure that, in accordance with the provisions of the bill, blacks would not be denied the right to vote.

James Meredith, famed as the first black student at the University of Mississippi, diagnosed the problem of blacks in that state as one of fear. So he proposed to lead a solitary march to encourage Mississippi blacks to overcome fear and to register and vote.<sup>8</sup> Meredith's march, begun June 5, 1966, was to be transformed by a lone gunman who shot him. After his hospitalization, his march was taken up by the "big five" of civil rights—Roy Wilkins, Stokely

<sup>4</sup> *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1974), vol. 4, p. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Muse, *The American Negro Revolution: From Nonviolence to Black Power* (New York: Citadel Press, 1970), p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> See Muse, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-181. Also Bardolph, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-425.

<sup>8</sup> Muse, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-241.



Carmichael, Martin King, James Farmer, and Whitney Young. The aims of this new march were difficult to establish. But almost as a challenge to the pervasive power of white violence, as they marched down the highway arm in arm, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) workers were heard uttering the phrase "Black Power!"<sup>9</sup> Thus did Stokely Carmichael come to champion the development of a new concept, one which challenged the precepts of King and held that black empowerment was to take precedence over integration.

### BLACK MAYORS

Very quickly this theme was taken up by the black community, so that the spread of black power was coincidental with what has been called by Chuck Stone "the year of the Black Mayor"—1967.<sup>10</sup> In that year, Richard Hatcher was elected Mayor of Gary, Indiana; Carl Stokes was elected Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; and Walter Washington was appointed as the first black Mayor-Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Black political power had begun to be felt through elections in the major urban areas where blacks were increasingly concentrated. Prior to 1967, there were seven black mayors of small white-majority cities who had won their posts either by natural rotation of the office or by the vote of the commission or city council, not by the electorate.

Both Hatcher and Stokes obtained white votes, but it was Stokes who needed white votes to win. Nevertheless, both of them also needed a solidified black vote, and Hatcher captured 75 percent of the black vote and Stokes 94 percent.<sup>11</sup> This was testimony to the growing cohesion of black voters and, in particular, to their translation of the ethic of black power into black electoral power. The number of black mayors has now grown nationwide to 108, and those states that have the largest number are as follows:<sup>12</sup> Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 8; New Jersey, 8; North Carolina, 8; Ohio, 8; Illinois, 7; Michigan, 7; Mississippi, 7; California, 6; Oklahoma, 6; South Carolina, 6.

<sup>9</sup> It was Willie Ricks who first conceived of the term a few days before the march. It was later picked up by Stokely Carmichael on the march. For a complete discussion of this point, see James Foreman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 456.

<sup>10</sup> See Chuck Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–230.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223–227.

<sup>12</sup> *National Roster of Black Elected Officials, op. cit.*, Table III. Data selected from the table.

<sup>13</sup> I have tried to illustrate this trend in "A Position Paper: Building a System of Influence," a paper prepared for the National Black Political Convention, Little Rock, Arkansas, March, 1974, pp. 24, xerox.

<sup>14</sup> This point is forcefully made in "Southern Black Mayors: Local Problems and Federal Responses," by Kenneth S. Colburn (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1973).

<sup>15</sup> *National Roster of Black Elected Officials, op. cit.*, Table III.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Five in this group of states, or somewhat less than half, are from the South; they include 73 percent of all black mayors. Such an analysis is important because the incidence of the entire increase in the number of black elected officials has been felt at the municipal level, and the mayorship has become the most important leading indicator of that trend. Probably as many as 76 percent of all black elected officials are elected at the municipal level.

Again, this is a scene of rapid progress. Yet the future increase of black mayors is likely not to be seen in the largest cities but in southern, medium-sized cities (below 100,000) and in much smaller cities in the future.<sup>13</sup> This will also mean increased electoral gains in the South, where there are a greater number of small majority black cities and counties of a rural or semi-rural character.<sup>14</sup>

By placing emphasis on municipal development, however, we do not want to slight the real gains made at other levels. There are now 239 black elected officials at the state level,<sup>15</sup> nearly all representing a local jurisdiction. This means that statewide offices have been more difficult to achieve. At present, there are only four statewide black elected officials; this state of affairs mirrors the existing minority population distribution of blacks at the state level. However, as blacks in the southern states approach the higher reaches of their political participation rates (in the 80–90 percent range), they will have (as blacks in some other states will not) the capacity seriously to influence the choices of state officers, and indeed, to elect more black people than they have thus far.

The other important increase is at the federal level, where 16 black Congressmen and Congresswomen, and one black Senator have been elected.<sup>16</sup> The states of Georgia, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and the District of Columbia have one black representative each. The state of California, an exception, has three; and there are two each for Illinois, Michigan, and New York.

These individuals are important not so much because of their numbers in Congress (although undoubtedly there should and will be more blacks in Congress), but because of the place where their politics is exercised daily. Probably no other group of politicians has ever been regarded as a serious national political leadership by the black community; hence, the impression created about politicians is likely to come from the activities of the black members of Congress and the local black politicians. Perhaps it would be well at this point to discuss the distinction between various types of politicians in the black community.

### THE BLACK POLITICIAN

A discussion of the black politician is necessary because it qualifies the term "politician" and gives insight into the process of leadership recruitment. The

objective question is: "where do black politicians come from?" It is questionable that history will be kind either to the Organization for Economic Opportunity (OEO), or to the Model Cities programs, or to Urban Renewal when describing their effectiveness in the black community. But a largely unrecognized aspect of their impact was that they did provide a theater for community politics, and therefore, for the rise of community politicians. President Johnson's War on Poverty was coincident with the black power movement that had as its objective "black control of black communities." The OEO movement, however, like its Model Cities counterpart, provided only a vague concept of "citizen participation."<sup>17</sup> At many intervals in the struggles of community development in the 1960's, there was a real tension between these two concepts that often resulted in open conflict either within the community development organization or between the organization and its "clients" or its parent body's funding source.

One exemplary organization is the Haryou Organization in Harlem, New York, which produced many individuals who have later been important in politics. Most notably, those around Adam Clayton Powell, like Livingston Wingate, are still powerful political figures there.<sup>18</sup> The Woodlawn Organization and the West-Side Organization (WSO) had the same effect in Chicago. Many of the poverty, urban renewal, or other neighborhood organizations had special boards—some of which were elected—as part of their organizational apparatus. The act of being elected to and serving on such boards was an important socializing ingredient of more formal politics, since many of the techniques were similar.

<sup>17</sup> See H. Ralph Taylor, "Citizen Participation in the Model Cities Program," in Hans B. C. Spiegel, ed., *Citizen Participation in Urban Development*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1969), pp. 106, 110.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," by Frances P. Piven, vol. 1, pp. 113–127. One could also look at the case study which follows this article written by Peter Maris and Martin Rein, "The Voice of the People," pp. 128–145.

<sup>19</sup> William Ellis, *White Ethics and Black Power* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), pp. 131–132.

<sup>20</sup> For other attempts to derive a typology of political leadership in the black community see, James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1960), pp. 238, 299; also Everett Ladd, *Negro Political Leadership in the South* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969). One of the better attempts at this work, has been made by Charles Hamilton. See his "Conflict, Race and System Transformation in the United States," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1969, pp. 106–118.

<sup>21</sup> One piece of evidence has been assembled by Joy Cope-land, a graduate student at Howard University, the result of a mail questionnaire administered to members of the Black Congressional Caucus in the fall, 1973.

<sup>22</sup> See John Britton, "NBC/LEO: From a Crawl to a Walk," *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 3, January, 1974, p. 4. *Focus* is the informative monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

In an analysis of such community organizations, one is able to assess the individuals who become part of the process of politics associated with them, and their backgrounds as well. William Ellis' work on the West-Side Organization is solid in its suggestion that there are at least two types of leadership "operatives," from a middle class and a lower class culture.<sup>19</sup> There are perhaps three kinds of politicians, with two basically different social backgrounds. One type, of course, is the elected official, a second type is the appointed official, while a third type is the traditional community organizer. The elected and appointed officials are often middle-class, while the third type of politician is often a member of what has been called the typical black community. A more fundamental distinction can be drawn in terms of the *values* of the first two types of leaders and the third type. A detailed examination of this differentiation is outside the scope of this work,<sup>20</sup> but it is mentioned to show the relationship of other politicians to elected politicians. It should be noted that the politics of neither of these leaders is mutually exclusive of the other; in fact, one may depend very much on the other for the most effective utilization of the power of the group.

Research on the socialization of black political leaders is scarce, but scattered evidence indicates that their backgrounds are somewhat traditional; there is a heavy incidence of lawyers, with other social-oriented occupations like teachers and social workers also represented.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, most black leaders have a record of professional competence and/or a record of community sanction.

## ORGANIZATION

Several organizations have developed in consonance with the rise of the black elected official; they embody the continuing collective search for institutions that will provide a basis for the exercise of effective black power. As such, they are the heirs to the movements of the 1960's.

One organization that has steadily grown in influence is the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC/LEO), which has a membership of roughly five percent of the local black elected officials.<sup>22</sup> It operates within the framework of the National League of Cities, and has been somewhat successful in persuading that body to adopt a black perspective on policy issues. Its major clients, of course, are the residents of the cities, and it deals with the national issues on which it can act as an independent coalition—bringing its point of view to bear—or acts as a black caucus within the National League of Cities. The basis of its membership is voluntary, and it raises revenues by individual contributions. Its current chairman is Henry Marsh III, Vice Mayor of Richmond, Virginia, and it also has

four regional chairmen. Upon his election to office, Mr. Marsh said,

First, we must speak for Black elected officials within the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors; second, we should coordinate with the Congressional Black Caucus on matters affecting Black Americans; third, we must become *the* voice for local elected officials before the Congress of the United States; and fourth, we must assist and support Black elected officials in their effort to articulate the hopes and aspirations of the Black people in our cities.<sup>23</sup>

NBC/LEO has the internal problems of growth and direction that are natural for a young organization, and, despite its prestigious membership, suffers the same problems that plague any black organization—ideology and financial resources. But these problems are being ameliorated, and in time the organization should, with an expanded membership, a permanent staff, and adequate funding, become the effective voice on problems of the cities that vigorously sets the problems of black and other disadvantaged residents before the nation.

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was formed in January, 1969, when there were seven black members in the Congress.<sup>24</sup> Now there are 16 in the House and one Senator, and the increasing number, together with the growing seniority of some of its members, has allowed CBC to make some inroads into the system of congressional influence. The ability to influence is measured in terms of the size of staff; therefore, House committee and subcommittee chairmanships are a premium possession. The only member to have both a committee chairmanship and a subcommittee chairmanship is Congressman Charles Diggs (D., Detroit), now in his eleventh term. Otherwise, caucus strength in House committees seems to be centered on District (4 members), Judiciary (3 members), Education and Labor (3 members), Banking and Currency (3 members), and on Foreign Affairs, where there are black chairmen of two subcommittees—Diggs (Africa) and Robert N. C. Nix (Asian and Pacific affairs). There are four other subcommittee chairpersons as follows: John Conyers (Crime); Ronald Dellums (Education); Walter Fauntroy (Judiciary—D.C.); and Augustus Hawkins (Equal Opportunity, Education and Labor, Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment, House Administration).<sup>25</sup>

Besides these committees, the caucus has focused

on 12 other areas where each member takes singular responsibility for the group, with the exception of fund raising, where there is a three-person committee.

When the CBC was born in 1969, it enthusiastically championed its role as the only legitimate organized national political spokesman for the black community, and it developed this role quickly, forcefully and visibly. The chief mechanisms for this work were the outspokenness of its members, the sponsoring of important conferences and hearings and, generally, publicity. But as time wore on, it became clear that the caucus did not have the resources to continue this policy which, indeed, inferred a lack of a policy and a clear direction. The previous chairman, Representative Louis Stokes, said:

In fact, at first we were unclear about our proper role. Therefore, in the past year, we have had to analyze what our resources are, what we should be doing, and how best to do it. And our conclusion is this: if we are to be effective, if we are going to make a meaningful contribution to minority citizens and this country, then it must be as legislators. This is the area in which we possess expertise and it is within the halls of Congress that we must make this expertise felt.<sup>26</sup>

This means the caucus has all but abdicated its "catch-all" role for a more narrowly defined legislative one. This is perhaps a more rational course in that it lies within the capabilities of the caucus, considering its mandate and its resources. (The caucus has a small staff of seven persons, with a limited budget.)<sup>27</sup> However, this course has created a void of national political leadership, which has manifested itself in several ways. Although its sense of national leadership led it to address the Nixon administration on policy issues that are representative of black, poor and other minority interests, in the spring of 1974 the caucus also found it necessary to formulate a document (the Black Declaration and the Black Bill of Rights) palatable to its own political style, in opposition to the Black Political Agenda, the document that surfaced from the National Black Political Convention.<sup>28</sup> It has also failed from time to time to exercise leadership in Democratic party affairs, all of the House members being Democrats.

These mistakes are balanced by the record of legislation developed by the caucus members, the lobbying system that is slowly being perfected, and the vigilance of the members on major pieces of legislation that affect blacks like tax reform, saving OEO programs, Watergate, revenue sharing, and United States policy toward Africa.

In view of its implied mandate, the treatment accorded the caucus by former President Richard Nixon was despicable. For the first time in nearly four years the caucus met with the new President, Gerald Ford, on August 21, but it remains to be seen whether or not President Ford will be able to overcome his

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Representative Louis Stokes. "The Caucus: Progress Through Legislation," *Focus*, vol. 1, no. 11, September, 1973.

<sup>25</sup> Congressional Black Caucus. Committee Assignment Sheet. 1973, Chairman, Representative Charles Rangel.

<sup>26</sup> Stokes, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> See John Britton, "Their Staff Shall Comfort Them," *Focus*, vol. 1, no. 22, September, 1973, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> "Representative Stokes on the Congressional Caucus," *Focus*, vol. 1, no. 2, December, 1972.



ultra-conservative record (see the *Washington Post*, August 22, 1974) in order to deal squarely with the issues presented to him by the caucus.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the influence of black Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts may prove significant, considering his dramatic announcement at the 1973 black caucus fund-raising affair that he too was a member of that body.

There are a number of embryonic black political organizations like the National Conference of Black Mayors and the Black Legislators' Association, and service organizations like the Joint Center for Political Studies and the Black Legislative Clearinghouse.<sup>30</sup> A discussion of these organizations would be beyond the purview of this brief essay.

It is important, however, to look at the National Black Political Assembly, another major organization of black politicians. The National Black Political Convention (NBPC) is a movement in the black community that has attempted to reunite elements of the traditional protest-organization political forces with the burgeoning electoral political forces in one political institution. The first convention was held in March, 1972, amid the high aspirations of 8,000 national delegates that this was to be the birth of a new political force in America.<sup>31</sup> The convention produced a national black political agenda, a document that reflected the militant and substantive issues of the convention, as the basis on which black and white politicians would bargain for black votes. This process, however, was not followed, because part of the convention leadership bolted prematurely in the direction of George McGovern during the 1972 presidential campaign, leaving the agenda an almost meaningless instrument of political strategy.

Nevertheless, since 1972, the assembly has continued

to meet under the troika leadership of Mayor Richard Hatcher, Congressman Charles Diggs, and Imamu Baraka, chairman of the Congress of Africa People, and the second convention was held in Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>32</sup> This convention, which focused on workshops that dealt with the skills of political organization in elections and in community mobilization, was notable for the conspicuous absence of most black elected officials.<sup>33</sup> This development signaled a serious breach in the forces that make up the convention/assembly machinery. Nothing, recently, has changed the mandate that the delegates assumed at Little Rock—to go home and build strong state assemblies—and in that task, presumably, black elected officials and community organizations will have to cooperate with each other. Healing this rift should be in the best interest of both groups. Otherwise, separate groups will continue to organize umbrella organizations along the lines of their special interests, a course that would betray the need for common, strong black political institutions with versatility and with a representative black leadership.

## STRATEGY

Today, the danger is that blacks will be driven from their political base of the last several decades—the Democratic party—in the zeal of party “regulars” to bury the stigma of radical McGovernism. One major question of strategy, then, becomes: what will the black politician do if he is not assured equal access to party affairs?<sup>34</sup>

The battle is being shaped within the framework of the struggle of the Democratic National Committee to produce a draft charter for consideration at a mid-term convention of the party in December, 1974. A recent meeting of the Charter Commission in Kansas City, Missouri, ended in a walkout of black and liberal members. Willie Brown, leader of the commission's black caucus, said that “[such actions] could only be interpreted as driving blacks and women out of the party,”<sup>35</sup> charging that conservative members of the commission had tried to eliminate from the draft charter all guarantees of equal access to party affairs. The “regulars” charged, in turn, that they are against either stated or implied quotas as the basis for minority participation in party affairs. Thus, the stage is set for a larger confrontation in December, following what has been called the “Sunday afternoon massacre” of liberal party reform.

(Continued on page 233)

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<sup>29</sup> One example of the voluminous recommendations that the CBC made to the Nixon administration on behalf of the black community may be found in the *Congressional Record*, “Congressional Black Caucus’ Recommendations to President Nixon,” speech by Charles Diggs, March 30, 1971, reprint from the *Record*. In all, 61 separate recommendations were included.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, “Black Mayors Meet,” *Politician*, National Urban League Citizenship Education Department, vol. 1, no. 3, February, 1974; also Richard Newhouse, “State Lawmakers Join Their Brothers,” *Focus*, vol. 1, no. 11, September, 1973, p. 7. State Senator Newhouse is from Chicago and is director of the Black Legislative Clearinghouse.

<sup>31</sup> An entire issue of the Johnson Publication, *Black World*, was devoted to this meeting. See *Black World*, vol. 21, no. 12, October, 1972. Articles are by Imamu Baraka, William Clay, William Strickland, Ronald Walters, and others.

<sup>32</sup> See John Dean's excellent analysis, “Black Political Assembly: Birth of a New Force,” *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1973.

<sup>33</sup> See John Britton, “Different Strokes for Different Folks,” *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 6, April, 1974.

<sup>34</sup> Ronald Walters, “Democratic Party Guidelines: Full Role for Blacks,” *Focus*, vol. 2, no. 5, March, 1974.

<sup>35</sup> *Washington Post*, August 19, 1974.

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*"It is noteworthy that black separatist movements have prevailed during periods of reaction following the failure of equalitarian movements and demands. Separatist movements do not come only in reaction to unfavorable social, political, and economic conditions, but also in reaction to failure to implement laws and measures meant to rectify those conditions."*

## Black Separatism

By C. CHINWOKE MBADINUJU

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THE HISTORY of the black man in America has been a checkered effort to adjust and readjust to the whims and preferences of his white counterpart—a history of alternating hope and disillusionment with regard to such American ideals as pluralism, integration, and equality. In his effort to achieve these goals, the black American has resorted to all sorts of methods including violence and non-violence, protests, demonstrations, riots, and sit-ins. As the visionary, Martin Luther King, Jr., contended:

The daily life of the [black] is still lived in the basement of the Great Society. He is still at the bottom despite the few who have penetrated to slightly higher levels. Even where the door has been forced partially open, mobility for the [black] is still sharply restricted. There is often no bottom at which to start, and when there is, there is almost always no room at the top.<sup>1</sup>

The black man has chosen to place great emphasis at different times on race chauvinism, race pride (negritude), and solidarity only in reaction to his

subjection to the perennial problems of race, discrimination, and poverty. He has also resorted to the formation of all-black organizations like church and fraternal societies that either imitate, or compete with, those that are traditionally white oriented and white dominated, and that exclude and discriminate against blacks.<sup>2</sup>

As the Kerner Report put it succinctly, it took only 40 years after their landing at Jamestown in August, 1619, for black people in America to become "a group apart, separated from the rest of the population by custom and law. Treated as servants for life, forbidden to intermarry with whites, deprived of their African traditions, and dispersed among southern plantations, [they] lost tribal, regional, and family ties."<sup>3</sup>

In the struggle for freedom, the black man has aimed at integration, has tried to become an American citizen both in fact and in law. This sentiment was well articulated by Martin R. Delany as he wrote in 1852:

Our common country is the United States. Here we were born, here raised and educated; here are the scenes of childhood, the pleasant associations of our school-going days; the loved enjoyments of our domestic and fireside relations, and the sacred graves of our departed fathers and mothers, and from here will we not be driven by any policy that may be schemed against us.<sup>4</sup>

The question the black man has been trying to answer is what happens if he loves his country, but the country fails to reciprocate such love. For Delany and many of his black fellows, black people "love our country, dearly love her, but she don't love us—she despises us, and bids us begone, driving us from her embraces." He denied being in "favor of caste" or "separation of the brotherhood of mankind." Accordingly, he "would as willingly live among white men as black," only on the condition that he had an

<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (New York: Bantam Books, 1961), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Such all-black organizations include social clubs, churches, fraternal societies, professional and literary associations. Discrimination implicit in the Jim Crow policies of the white institutions led to black preferences for a race-centered social life which found expression in the separate organizations. For discussion on this see Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); B. F. Lee, Jr., "Negro Organizations," in *Annals XLIX* (September, 1913), pp. 129-137; August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 207. This is known as the Kerner Report.

<sup>4</sup> Martin R. Delany, "The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States" in Howard Brotz, ed., *Negro Social and Political Thought: 1850-1920* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 37-111. Quoted in Theodore Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism* (New York: Viking Press, 1970), p. 25.

"equal possession and enjoyment of privileges; but shall never be reconciled to live among them, subservient to their will—existing by mere sufferance. . . ."<sup>5</sup> This kind of feeling and rhetoric nurtured the idea of separation with ultimate manifestation in the black separatist movements.

Black separatism is a dimension or a manifestation of black nationalism, black ethnocentrism, and black racial solidarity. The black man subscribed to concepts like separatism, black capitalism, cultural nationalism and Pan-Africanism in his quest for equality in relation to his white counterpart. Black people prefer to achieve those goals in this country, but as a last resort might also try to achieve them by withdrawing to a foreign land.

It is noteworthy that black separatist movements have prevailed during periods of reaction following the failure of equalitarian movements and demands. Separatist movements do not come only in reaction to unfavorable social, political, and economic conditions, but also in reaction to failure to implement laws and measures meant to rectify those conditions. It is therefore understandable that black separatism has run the whole gamut of black American experience from the antebellum period to the present. In whatever form they have appeared, black separatist tendencies have been in part a reaction against the failure of the United States to live up to its political, constitutional, legal, social, and economic guarantees to its black population. Black separatism has also been regarded as one way to seek integration, which will come only after black racial separation and solidarity have taught the value of self-help and self-improvement.

Our primary objective here is to examine the changing forms and features of black separatism. Three forms of such separatism and their respective themes have been delineated for the purposes of this paper and they are: emigrationism, with its separate-and-equal theme; isolationism, with the separate-for-equal theme (1520 through the turn of the twentieth century), and separate-if-not-equal theme that is characteristic of the contemporary movement of the 1960's and 1970's. The third separatist form is territorialism, which has dimensions in economic separatism and black community control.

### EMIGRATIONISM

As a form of black separatism, emigrationism has featured periodically in black American history. The separatist movement reached two climaxes: (1) between 1850 and 1861, with Martin R. Delany's attempt to resettle black Americans in the "promised land" of Central or South America and the West In-

dies, and (2) between the 1890's and the 1920's, with the goal of black emigration to Liberia implicit in Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement of the early twentieth century. There were also attempts at black emigration in the 1700's and, recently, in the 1960's and 1970's. In its contemporary form, however, emigrationism has been confined to the fantasy and rhetoric of such "black power" advocates as Stokely Carmichael. But the point remains: emigrationism has found expression in the experience of black people in America throughout the years they have been here.

One of the early attempts at emigration was made on January 4, 1787, when 80 Boston blacks petitioned the Massachusetts state legislature to appropriate sufficient funds to repatriate them to Africa and to help them purchase some land there. Their reason was that "their circumstances were very disagreeable and disadvantageous" in America. They promised that while in Africa they would help spread the Christian religion, improve international relations, and promote United States-West African commerce.<sup>6</sup> Their petition was rejected, but they had set the stage for the emigrationist movements that characterized subsequent periods in black history.

Emigrationism, like other separatist doctrines, arose partly as a reaction to the failure of equalitarian movements and the failure to implement laws and measures designed to bring about freedom and equality of opportunities. Thus, the mid-nineteenth century emigrationism, with focus on the colonization of Haiti and other Central and South American countries, in part resulted from the fading of the anti-slavery hopes implicit in the revolutionary period, as slavery itself was strongly entrenched in the South.

At the turn of the twentieth century (1890-1920's), emigrationism was a reaction to disappointed hopes for equality. In 1861, the secession of the 11 southern states had precipitated a civil war in which slavery was a very important issue, and in 1863, as in 1776, black Americans fought to preserve the country to which they owed a very strong allegiance. There is little doubt that black Americans hoped that the end of the civil war would bring their freedom. Initially, the political measures passed into law by the Reconstruction Congress with a Republican majority gave them reason to hope. In 1863, the Thirteenth Amendment outlawed slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment in 1865 gave American citizenship to the newly freed men, and the Fifteenth Amendment granted voting rights to black people previously disfranchised.

Soon gaps appeared between the laws and their implementation. Black people were systematically denied the vote through devices like the grandfather clause, poll taxes, literacy tests, and white primaries. After the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, that enunciated the "separate

<sup>5</sup> Martin R. Delany, quoted in Draper, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), p. 96.



but equal" doctrine, racial segregation became a national norm. The Black Codes, Jim Crowism, and lynching (added to the discriminating effects of the *Plessy* decision) clearly demonstrated the effort to stifle the abolitionist movement, and to deny free blacks those few rights they had acquired. Hope of further black advance was shattered as Reconstruction was abandoned by the compromise of 1877 between President Rutherford B. Hayes and the southern Democrats. A wave of black emigration movements followed.

A consistent theme in emigrationist rhetoric was the commitment of the black Americans to the goals of equality, freedom, and self-government. If these goals could not be achieved in America, then a foreign land had to be acquired for a black nation of equal strength with white nations. Emigrationists believed that black people were discriminated against and exploited in the United States because they had no strong national homeland like other racial groups in America. They believed that there had to be a "separate-and-equal" nation for black people; thus this form of black separatism is described as a separate-and-equal movement. Bishop James T. Holly was a leading exponent of this theme; in 1859 he wrote that "the potent cause of all the wrongs that the [black] race now suffers under in the new world" is its lack of nationality. But he warned that:

We do not simply want a [black] nationality, but we want a strong, powerful, enlightened, and progressive [black] nationality, equal to the demands of the nineteenth century, and capable of commanding the respect of all the nations of the earth, in order to exert in an effectual manner this reflex influence.<sup>7</sup> (Italics original.)

Subscribing to the same separate-and-equal theme, in 1854 a Cleveland convention observed that since universal human and natural rights could not be guaranteed in America, the black people had to emigrate to a foreign land either in the West Indies, or in Central or South America. In these countries, they would "assert their manhood, and develop a new

civilization . . . [and] would finally achieve political equality and social and economic betterment and . . . develop a check to European presumption, and insufferable Yankee intrusion and impudence." The convention later endorsed emigration to afford the blacks the opportunity "to escape a degraded position and commence a new and productive life."<sup>8</sup>

Later, in the early twentieth century, the same separate-and-equal theme was expounded in Garvey's separatist movement. Garvey analyzed the condition of black people all over the world. He believed that, with only few variations, these conditions (which included peonage, disfranchisement, serfdom, slavery, racial exploitation, lynching, industrial and political governmental inequality) typified the black experience in America and Africa and in the West Indies and South and Central America. The solution, according to Garvey, would be the redemption of an "African motherland" and the establishment there of "a government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth."<sup>9</sup>

In the late 1960's, the black power advocate, Stokely Carmichael, was treading in the separatist footsteps of Marcus Garvey and Bishop Holly. Carmichael advanced the concept of black people as constituting a colony in the United States.<sup>10</sup> He assured the blacks that they were not alone; that they should count themselves as members of the third world proletariat being exploited by their capitalist colonizers or neo-colonizers. They must liberate themselves, he urged, but before liberation they must have a land base. Carmichael regarded Ghana as the land base, with Kwame Nkrumah (in exile in Guinea) as the potential leader who could unify the black world through the Pan-African movement. Again, Carmichael's vision of Ghana is reminiscent of Garvey's interest in Liberia, and Bishop Holly's interest in Haiti. Beyond mere rhetoric, Garvey never set foot in Africa, and Carmichael (who met Nkrumah in exile in Guinea) never actually went to Ghana.

But although Garvey failed to go to Africa, and Carmichael failed to reach Ghana, others went. In 1895, 197 blacks emigrated to Liberia; 321 followed in 1896, under the auspices of Bishop Turner.<sup>11</sup>

In December, 1815, Paul Cuffee, a prosperous black sea captain made his second trip to Africa and took 38 blacks to Sierra Leone. But this was a one-man effort, rather than a movement.

In 1861-1862, many blacks also emigrated from the United States and Canada to Haiti, following the teaching of Reverend Holly. But considering the number of black people involved, such "tokenism" cannot create the illusion of a successful emigration movement. Opposition has been strong and consis-

<sup>7</sup> James T. Holly quoted in Draper, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention of Colored People, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, August, 1854* (Pittsburgh, 1854) and quoted in Leon F. Litwack, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>9</sup> Marcus Garvey, "The Challenge of Black Nationalism" in August Meier, *et al.*, eds. *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*, 2d. ed. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1971), p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967); also William Tabb, *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970).

<sup>11</sup> It may be pointed out that Bishop Turner's advocacy of emigration to Liberia (1883) was reminiscent of that of Bishop Holly in the early 1850's. Bishop Turner called for a black nation that "the world will respect and [whose] glory and influence will tell upon the destinies of the race from pole to pole. . . ." Quoted in Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 37.

tent against emigration. Surveying all the emigrationist rhetoric, in 1894 Frederick Douglass observed that emigration is all nonsense: "the native land of the American [black] is America." Earlier, Reverend Henry Highland Garnet had put the case more forcefully. In 1848, he opposed emigration, saying in part that, "We are planted here, and cannot, as a whole people, be re-colonized back to our fatherland. It is too late to make a successful attempt to separate the black and white people in the New World." He concluded: "America is my home, my country, and I have no other. I love whatever good there may be in her institutions. I hate her sins, I loathe her slavery, and I pray Heaven that . . . she may wash away her guilt in tears of repentance."<sup>12</sup>

Was Fredrick Douglass correct when he described the emigration movement as "unwise, unfortunate, and premature?"<sup>13</sup> Or did emigration fail not because it was "unwise," but because, either by design or by default, it failed to attract the black middle class that had the money, the skill, and the organization needed in the development of either Africa or Haiti. The real paradox of emigrationism is that Africa and Haiti attracted the poor and desperate black American peasants whom those countries needed and wanted the least, and not those blacks with education, professional skills, and a high standard of living who were least interested in emigration.

One of the black separatist movements, isolationism, shares the integrationist vision of freedom, equal-

ity and pluralism for black people in America. The main difference between the two groups—the isolationists and the integrationists—lies in the timetable and the strategy for accomplishing these objectives. Isolationists look at integration as a long-range objective, contending that in the interim they must work toward black self-improvement, self-help and self-awareness. The accomplishment of these goals is seen as a preparatory step toward any meaningful future integration with other racial and ethnic groups in America. The advocates of this separatism seem not to be in any hurry to swim in the American mainstream, which they regard as polluted. For the isolationists, integration would come only after black people have first withdrawn into a racial cocoon to learn the ethics of self-help and self-improvement.

This form of black separatism has a separate-for-equal theme, just as emigrationism has the separate-and-equal emphasis. The obvious paradox in isolationism is that racial integration would be achieved after voluntary black isolation or segregation. The basic assumption is that black people have a unique history and therefore must have a separate and a unique lesson in freedom to train themselves to confront the white environment. The isolationists hope that if and when integration comes, black people will be assimilated not as individuals but as a group.

The separate-for-equal theme has long been evident. However, in its contemporary form, much of the separatist rhetoric has shifted to the theme of separate-if-not-equal that is characteristic of the demands of young black activists at colleges and universities across the nation.

Much of the antebellum separate-for-equal movement had the objective of establishing "black communities" that would be self-contained and self-governing. William and Jane Pease<sup>14</sup> very elaborately described several of these black organized communities, which were located in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and in Nashoba, in West Tennessee (led by Frances Wright). There were also black communities in Canada in Dresden, Lucan, Chatham and Windsor; Port Royal, Wilberforce, Dawn; and in Elgin (led by William King).

Several factors led to the black quest for a separate community where they would hopefully prepare for eventual integration in white America. Such factors included the desire for freedom from servitude and its misery;<sup>15</sup> the hope of escape from discrimination and prejudice; the effect of restrictive legislation such as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850<sup>16</sup> and the Black Codes.<sup>17</sup>

The goals of organized black communities included training black people in self-reliance, individualism, and independence. The blacks were indoctrinated in the profit-motive implicit in the American capitalist system. In general, they were taught the values and

<sup>12</sup> Reverend Garnet later changed his position and supported emigration. He helped to found the African Civilization Society for "the civilization and christianization of Africa." He went to Africa himself in 1881 as a minister to Liberia, but died there two months later. About his emigrationist views, see Henry H. Garnet, *The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race*, in Brotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–202.

<sup>13</sup> Frederic Douglass, quoted in Litwack, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> William and Jane Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963).

<sup>15</sup> For example, in the 1850's, Alexander Hensley, a black minister of St. Catherine's, deprecated the continued enslavement of the black people and observed that: "My idea of freedom during my youth was that it was a state of liberty for the mind—that there was a freedom of thought, which I could not enjoy unless I were free—that is, if I thought of any thing beneficial for me, I should have liberty to execute it" (quoted in Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

<sup>16</sup> The law, for example, awarded \$10.00 to the commissioner if he ordered the return of a captive slave, but only \$5.00 if he ordered his release; thus conviction became more lucrative than acquittal. The law also forbade the testimony of a slave in court, while the prosecutor was free to level any charge against a slave in order to have him convicted.

<sup>17</sup> The Ohio Black Code (1804–1807) required blacks to carry certificates of freedom; employment was denied to one who failed to have such a certificate. There was also a fine against an employer of such a black delinquent, as well as a fine for anyone who harbored a fugitive slave. Upon entering the state of Ohio, a black person was required to post a \$500.00 bond signed by a white person as security guaranteeing his good behavior.

practices of the American middle class: socially, economically, and politically. Their separation and training were supposed to equip them for American citizenship. They were taught the importance of economic security and the ingenuity and effectiveness of the American economic system; they were provided with agricultural skills, manual training, and training for "complete freedom." According to William and Jane Pease:

Time and time again the point was made that in the organized communities the [blacks] could learn to be free, learn how to earn their way in a free American society, and learn the virtues and the morals as well as the customs and mores of America. . . . [The communities] were but way stations, training grounds for [blacks] headed toward eventual assimilation into American society.<sup>18</sup>

The emphasis of this separatist doctrine remained essentially simple: black people need to be separated and, while in voluntary segregation, must be given the necessary training for freedom. Thus Frances Wright, the founder of Nashoba black community, observed that: "Although the [blacks] might be raised eventually to the level of the white man, they could not be raised merely by being emancipated and thrust unprepared into a white society." She argued that the black man must, as a prerequisite to integration, "be settled among his own kind."<sup>19</sup>

The black communities that started to form in the 1820's came to an end by 1861. Even though William King, the founder of the Elgin black community, affirmed that "the settlement was a perfect success," the same cannot be said of all the other communities.

<sup>18</sup> Pease, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>21</sup> Booker T. Washington, "The Atlanta Exposition Address, September, 1895," in Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8.

<sup>22</sup> Du Bois, however, saw the danger of discrimination against black people as they begin to form exclusive groups geared for their self-help. According to him: "There is no doubt that numbers of white people, perhaps the majority of Americans, stand ready to take the most distinct advantage of voluntary segregation and cooperation among colored people. Just as soon as they get a group of black folk segregated, they use it as a point of attack and discrimination." He nonetheless encouraged a black counter-attack in the event that voluntary segregation engendered discrimination. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Segregation," in Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> James Farmer in 1944 contended that: "The basic problem . . . is to break down barriers of segregation. Trying to break down social and economic barriers of segregation while nurturing mental barriers of segregation is fantastic. . . . We cannot destroy segregation with a weapon of segregation." Quoted in Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49. Whitney M. Young, Jr., also warned against black separatism, associating it with discrimination, and said the black people would have "powerlessness, not power; poverty, not riches, discrimination, not equality" by separation. *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970), p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Integration—Separation Dilemma Is a False Choice," in *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970).

The separate-for-equal program failed partly because it focused on the adjustment and improvement of the individual black instead of on the whole minority group in a predominantly white society. At best, the communities trained blacks to live in a white society—to adjust themselves to a white society, rather than attempting to change the attitudes of whites as well as blacks. Since such a change cannot be effected in isolation, it may be that the results of the organized communities were "tragically inconsequential."<sup>20</sup>

Isolationism or voluntary segregation in the black separatist movement and rhetoric reappeared at the turn of the twentieth century, largely through the views and ideas of Booker T. Washington. In his famous Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895, Washington portrayed himself as a champion of "black self-help for self-respect." He called on black Americans to believe in themselves, to stand together and to support each other. He advocated accommodation, conciliation, and gradualism, suggesting that blacks should support their own businesses, and acquire industrial education, wealth and morality—this was the only way they could "earn the respect of the white man and thus eventually gain their constitutional rights."<sup>21</sup>

Favoring the separatist form of isolationism or voluntary segregation, W. E. B. Du Bois warned that "the thinking colored people of the United States must stop being stampeded by the word segregation." He drew a distinction between segregation and discrimination, saying that "the two things do not necessarily go together," and that "there should never be an opposition to segregation pure and simple unless that segregation does involve discrimination." Du Bois warned that "never in the world should we be against association with ourselves because by that very token we give up the whole argument that we are worth associating with."<sup>22</sup>

A major point of contention has centered around the question of whether voluntary black separation is tantamount to discrimination against the whites, whether it is reverse racism.<sup>23</sup> Lerone Bennett, Jr., provides insight into the terminologies in question. According to him, "the difference between separation and segregation is the difference between deciding to stay in the house all day and obeying an order to stay in the house all day . . . segregation is imposed, separation is chosen."<sup>24</sup>

Today, black nationalism must be viewed in light of the failure of legislation to bring the long-promised freedom and equality of opportunity for black Americans. There was the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483, decision nullifying legal racial segregation; the civil rights legislation of 1957, 1960, and 1964; and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. But according to Martin Luther King, most of these laws were passed in a "crisis mood" after the protest marches in Birmingham, Selma, and



Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, "no substantial fervor survives the formal signing of legislation," which the nation regards as the reality of the reform.<sup>25</sup> The sentiment of young, activist blacks becomes clear in view of this American failure. Their fathers were asked to prepare themselves for American citizenship and equality; the laws granting freedom and equality were passed but not fully implemented. Thus a sense of frustration and desperation led them increasingly to advocate separation.

This contemporary separate-if-not-equal theme of black separatism is strongest among black college students who advocate separate facilities. They choose to occupy a section of the movie halls or the basketball pitch; they eat at black-designated dining tables in the college cafeterias. They demand separate cultural centers and black studies departments and dormitories, and they choose to congregate in one section of the classroom during lectures. We have seen the otherwise "integrated" student bodies degenerate into "polarized" factions. All-black organizations have proliferated on the college campuses, and they include:

"Uhuru," an organization (at Cortland State) that restricts membership to black students and other minority groups of the third world.

"Ujamaa," a housing complex at Cornell University with separate living facilities for black students alone, which is called a "cultural center" devoted to the study of President Julius Nyerere's philosophy of familyhood or communalism.

There are similar all-black dormitories on other college campuses such as New Paltz State and Sarah Lawrence College. At Harpur College, there is a "third world corridor" that provides dormitory facilities for only black and Latin students.

Other examples of separate-if-not-equal institutions include the "Uhuru Sa Sa," the all-black owned and operated school in Brooklyn, New York.

A number of criticisms have been directed against this form of black separatism. The NAACP, for example, threatened to sue the University of Pennsylvania to stop its W. E. B. Du Bois Residence Hall from practicing what it described as "racial separatism" and the exclusion of white students. Similarly, the New York State Commissioner of Education, Ewald Nyquist, argued that "voluntary segregation is just as bad as required segregation." In February, 1974, he ordered all colleges and universities in the

state voluntarily to abrogate the separate facilities for blacks, or lose their state and federal funds, or even accreditation.

Cornell University is one of the New York State institutions charged with maintaining separate, if not segregated, living facilities for black students. On December 27, 1973, Nyquist informed Cornell University that "Ujamaa" did not meet with the Regents' guidelines that forbade segregated facilities as "those in which admission or residence is restricted, by the institution or with its consent, to persons of a particular race, color or national origin."

Cornell University President Dale Corson denied the charge that the university was maintaining segregated accommodations for black students. Blacks separated themselves in "Ujamaa" to accomplish certain cultural purposes. According to Corson:

Cornell University has long shared the Regents' goal of eliminating barriers which prevent individuals from achieving academic or vocational goals. . . . At "Ujamaa" the focus is on the problems of developing communities in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean. "Ujamaa" is only one of the five "special project residential units" operating at Cornell . . . the unit does not discriminate with respect to race, color, creed, or place of birth in selection of its members, in its operation, or in any other procedure.<sup>26</sup>

Criticism has also come from other opponents of black separatism who often describe separatism as "neo-segregationism." One of these critics is Roy Wilkins, who observed that black people "have suffered too many heartaches and shed too much blood in fighting the evil of racial segregation to return to the lonely and dispiriting confines of its demeaning prison." The black socio-psychologist, Kenneth B. Clark, has taken the position that to encourage separatism would be tantamount to reenforcing the black man's "inability to compete with whites for the real power of the real world." Nathan Hare, the black activist, has warned that "separatism is often a pretext to evade acting in a revolutionary fashion now."<sup>27</sup>

It might superficially appear, then, to be one of the paradoxes of contemporary American history that the black people who spent most of their energy in the fight against white separatism should now advocate black separatism themselves. But we must caution against over simplification; it is impossible to equate current black separatism with pre-Brown white discrimination and segregation. It has not been shown conclusively that contemporary black separatism is synonymous with segregation, nor that it is reverse racism. The young activist black students who advocate separate facilities are indicating their frustration in view of the fact that the goal of equality promised by white society remains an illusion. Essentially they are trying to achieve what some have described as a strategic regroupment;<sup>28</sup> this tactic may be

<sup>25</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., *op cit.*, pp. 4-5, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> See *Cornell Reports*, vol. 8, no. 4 (April, 1974).

<sup>27</sup> Roger A. Fischer, "Ghetto and Gown: The Birth of Black Studies," in *Current History*, vol. 57, no. 339 (November, 1969), pp. 270 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Among those in question is Lerone Bennett, Jr., who explained that separatism is justified on the basis of black subscription to group power; that "the oppressor creates a situation from which the oppressed can only extricate themselves by a re-groupment." See Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 40.



retrogressive and unwise, but it does not amount to discrimination against white people. Young blacks cannot segregate in order to discriminate against whites because they have no control over the system of relationships.<sup>29</sup> They do not possess the resources available to their white counterparts that would enable them to establish meaningful discrimination against whites. But they are entitled to "protest" against conditions that they perceive to be detrimental to their existence and progress—this is the protest implicit in the separate-if-not-equal theme of the contemporary movement.

The question of separatism, however, is one that divides the black community into fairly unidentifiable parties and schools of opinion. The separatist rhetoric continues to proliferate, maintaining a diversity that puzzles even the most resolute analyst.<sup>30</sup> But beyond all rhetoric, Reverend Jesse Jackson's observation must be taken seriously: "We are already separated and we didn't do the separating, and we don't have the power to do the integrating; whites are separate and it's white power that maintains separation."

#### TERRITORIAL SEPARATISM

It is correct to assume, along with John H. Bracey, Jr., that "territorial separatism is not dead by any

<sup>29</sup> Harry Edward dealt with this problem, explaining that: "a group that seeks to separate does not attempt to control and exploit other groups in the social order. For its tactic is separation, not the domination that has been the tactic of the white majority in America relative to blacks." See Edward, *Black Students* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 67.

<sup>30</sup> One can note this example in the August, 1970, issue of *Ebony*, which dealt specifically with the division of opinions among black Americans on the question of integration and separation. The special issue was titled: "Which Way Black America—Separation? Integration? Liberation?" *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> John H. Bracey, Jr., "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," in Huggins et al., eds., *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), p. 276.

<sup>32</sup> The Black Muslim's Point 4 in the 10-Point Program and Position maintained that: "We want our people in America . . . to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own—either on this continent or elsewhere. . . ." Also the separatist, W. H. Ferry, formerly Fellow of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California, in his "Black Colonies: A Modest Proposal," contended that blacks are colonial subjects of whites. He therefore proposed "the formal establishment of a system of black colonies in the United States," with a Department of Colonial Affairs in Washington, D.C. See Ferry, "Black Colonies: A Modest Proposal," in *The Center Magazine* (Santa Barbara, California, January, 1968), pp. 74–76.

<sup>33</sup> Andrew Brimmer, "Separatism and Black Capitalism Are Illusions," in *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970), p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> See my article on "Elective Politics and the Hopes of Black Americans," in *Afro-American Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring, 1974), pp. 33–46.

<sup>35</sup> See for example, Robert S. Browne, "A Case for Separation," in Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 516–528.

means."<sup>31</sup> The advocates of this form of black separatism have multiplied, and the rhetorical argument for territorialism has grown stronger in recent years.<sup>32</sup> Several factors underlie the call for partitioning the United States into two nations: one black, one white. One factor is the growing skepticism with regard to the future of the black man in America, whether it is true, as Malcolm X expressed it, that for him "all roads lead to a dead end."

Black Americans have been granted freedom and equality in law, but in fact their position remains to be assured. Although they constitute about 12 percent of the population, black Americans have only 6.5 percent of national personal income, less than 2 percent of the total assets held by American households. Blacks have about \$2.3-billion worth of total national financial assets; or 0.7 percent of the total national assets of \$329.2 billion. The black capitalism that proposed to help rectify this economic distortion is not a real "strategy for economic progress" but an obvious perpetuation of a "cruel hoax," according to Andrew F. Brimmer, a black member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.<sup>33</sup>

Clearly, de facto discrimination and racial prejudice have continued long after the repeal of de jure practices that were rooted in the national social fabric. For example, long after the passage of laws to enhance black political participation, black people have been able to elect less than four percent of the members of the House of Representatives and one percent of the Senate. There have, of course, been recent gains in mayoral elections and local offices such as school board memberships. Such gains, however, make one ask whether the black political glass is half full or half empty.<sup>34</sup> There is no doubt that the plight of black people has been a source of chronic concern; the black nationalists who advocate one form of separatism or another, as a kind of protest, are men with grievances.

Territorialists discount any serious emigration as a solution for black problems in America. They also believe that the integrationist vision of an America offering equal opportunity for black people would actually produce little more than such gadgets as additional employment, and better income, housing, and education.<sup>35</sup> They therefore call not for emigration nor for "tactical voluntary separation," but rather for a "formal partitioning of the United States into two totally separate and independent nations." A leading advocate of territorialism is Robert S. Browne; in his speech to the Conference on Black Power in 1967, he presented a plan for the partition. Later, in 1968, the National Black Government Conference in Detroit voted to create the Republic of New Africa that would include the five southern states of Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The Black Muslim group, led by Elijah Mohammed,

has been an ardent supporter of the idea of a black nation within the United States, an *imperium in imperio*. The Muslim philosophy for separation contends that:

Since we cannot get along with our former slave masters in peace and equality after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America justify our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.<sup>36</sup>

Proponents of geographic separation offer facts to support their case that an independent black nation would be as viable as, and even more than, most independent black nations of Africa. For example, the black state would have a population of 22 million; it would thus rank as the 26th largest nation in the world. It would be the third largest and perhaps the strongest black nation—second only to Nigeria and Ethiopia. Its aggregate personal income would be about \$35 billion, and its income per capita would be about \$1,600—this would rank higher than any black African nation, and 15th in the world.<sup>37</sup>

But objective economic facts alone would not determine a decision that would be essentially political. And it must be pointed out that no matter how impressive the above figures appear, black Americans are

<sup>36</sup> See Hans J. Massaquoi, "Elijah Mohammed," in *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970), p. 78. For further discussion on black nationalism and the Black Muslims, see E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); and C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961).

<sup>37</sup> See Brimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119.

<sup>38</sup> See Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., *Employment, Race and Poverty* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967); Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

<sup>39</sup> Robert S. Brown, "Integration Is Not the Sole Possible Route," in *Ebony*, vol. 25, no. 10 (August, 1970), p. 51.

<sup>40</sup> In his speech in Washington, D.C. on May 31, 1959, Elijah Mohammed was quoted as saying, regarding his demand for separate states: "They will never give us three or four states. That I probably know, but that doesn't hinder you and me from asking for it." In E. U. Essien-Udom, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>41</sup> The Panthers have programs calling for independent, self-governing black communities organized on socialist principles. Their strategy of armed self-defense for blacks is a part of the program for black liberation. See Huey P. Newton, "The Black Panthers," *Ebony*, vol. 24 (August, 1960), pp. 106–112; Earl Anthony, *Picking up the Gun: A Report on the Black Panther* (New York: Dial, 1970); Theodore Draper, *op. cit.*, (especially chap. 7); Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1970).

<sup>42</sup> See for example, Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); also Floyd B. Barbour, ed. *The Black Power Revolt: A Collection of Essays* (Boston: Sargent, 1968), Meier, *op. cit.*; Martin Luther King, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Hans J. Massaquoi, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81.

still in an economic quagmire.<sup>38</sup> Politically, a plan for partitioning would fail before its consideration began because the Congress of the United States would have to vote on the question, and the Congress could not agree. But this fact does not seem to bother the territorial separatists who subscribe to the view that:

A few years ago, talk of a black nation seemed far-fetched. Today, it sounds no more unreasonable than did formerly the cry of independence for Ghana, for Algeria, or for Ireland. Black separatism is no more impractical than is Quebec separatism. Partitioning of the U.S. is no wilder than was partitioning of India. A homeland for blacks makes sense as a homeland for Jews. Consequently separating ourselves should not be ruled out as a possible route to our liberation.<sup>39</sup>

Some territorial separatists, like the Nation of Islam, while still advocating separation, have consigned it to a vague and distant future.<sup>40</sup> The Black Panthers have resorted to advocating the intermediate goal of liberation,<sup>41</sup> and the "Black Power" has called for the limited goal of Community Control.<sup>42</sup> It must appear obvious to these groups that neither emigration nor territorial separation is a feasible solution to the contemporary problems of black Americans. Thus the Muslim group has embarked upon economic separatism for self-help and self-sufficiency. The "Nation" has established a multimillion dollar, nationwide business and farming complex. It also maintains coast-to-coast self-help programs in supermarkets, barbershops, clothing factories. Its future projects sound colossal, and include the construction of a 232-bed hospital, a bank, a mosque, an elementary school, a radio and television station, a University of Islam at a cost of \$30 million, a jet passenger plane, and 9,000 additional acres of farm land for blacks.<sup>43</sup>

While the Nation of Islam must be complimented for its self-help programs, its investments draw from the capitalist system that it seeks to destroy. Furthermore, the total program represents a drop of water in the ocean of economic capability that a separate black nation would need for survival. So, at best, the economic separatism of the Muslims and other black groups is reminiscent of the separate-for-equal programs of the isolationists.

In sum, black Americans have gone more than halfway in their struggle for total freedom and full equality in this country. It is undoubtedly too late  
(Continued on page 233)

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*"Racial discrimination denies blacks access to white neighborhoods and deprives blacks of adequate housing services. . . . What legal strategies could and should be employed to improve the quality and quantity of services delivered to . . . ghetto area[s]?"*

## Black Ghetto Housing: Serving the Unserved

BY KALLIS E. PARKER

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION has deprived black neighborhoods of adequate housing services.<sup>1</sup> Neither racial integration nor the equalization of services is adequate to remedy the problem of unservice and underservice in black ghettos.

Nonetheless, strategies to obtain racial integration have dominated attempts to improve housing and housing opportunities for blacks. In 1917, the United States Supreme Court held unconstitutional a municipal ordinance prohibiting blacks from moving into a block where the majority of homes were occupied by whites.<sup>2</sup> Thirty years later, in 1948, the Supreme Court held that judicial enforcement of private covenants binding the covenanters to sell their property only to whites constituted impermissible state action under the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>3</sup> That same year,

the Court held a restrictive covenant in the District of Columbia unenforceable.<sup>4</sup> In 1967, the Court declared unconstitutional a state constitutional provision that prohibited the state from denying a private individual his power to discriminate in selling his own home.<sup>5</sup> The Court found that the amendment encouraged racial discrimination and thus constituted state action violative of the Fourteenth Amendment. A year later, the Court held that all racial discrimination, public or private, in the sale or rental of property was prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 1969, the Court invalidated a city charter amendment adopted by popular vote because it placed special burdens on racial minorities within the governmental process.<sup>7</sup>

Congress and the executive also reflected this national policy against racial discrimination in housing. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 provided that:

All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.<sup>8</sup>

The Civil Rights Act of 1870 provided in pertinent part:

All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, . . . for the security of person and property.<sup>9</sup>

The Civil Rights Act of 1871 subjected to civil liability persons who "under color of" state law deprive other persons of their constitutional rights.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to 1949, the federal government's housing efforts were designed to revitalize the nation's credit industry and to relieve the economic conditions of the Depression. In the National Housing Act of 1949, however, the goal shifted to meeting the housing needs of American families.<sup>11</sup> Yet, even then, the federal government did not attempt to combat racial discrimination in housing. Indeed, the policies of federal administrative agencies actually promoted the spread

<sup>1</sup> Housing services should be distinguished from the housing stock. "The concept of housing stock pertains to the existence of a physical facility, such as a furnace; the concept of housing services deals with what the facility produces (whether there is heat). Residents typically worry about the heat, not the system that produces it. 'Housing' implies a long list of such specific services, and it might even be said that its ultimate services are to meet broader human needs for comfort, privacy, and security. Heating is an example of service derived from the stock itself, but there are two other types of housing services: labor-intensive services and neighborhood services. Labor-intensive services are relatively independent of the physical plant but are paid for out of rent. Such services may range from picking up trash to providing security for a multifamily building. Neighborhood services are not paid for directly but are available to a resident because of the location of his home." Martin Isler, *The Goals of Housing Subsidy Programs*, U.S. House Committee on Banking & Currency, Subcommittee on Housing, Panel II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 415, 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

<sup>3</sup> *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

<sup>4</sup> *Hurd v. Hodge*, 334 U.S. 24 (1948).

<sup>5</sup> *Reitman v. Mulkey*, 387 U.S. 369 (1967).

<sup>6</sup> *Jones v. Mayer*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968).

<sup>7</sup> *Hunter v. Erickson*, 393 U.S. 385 (1969).

<sup>8</sup> 42 U.S.C. §1982 (1970).

<sup>9</sup> 42 U.S.C. §1981 (1970).

<sup>10</sup> 42 U.S.C. §1983 (1970 ed.).

<sup>11</sup> 42 U.S.C. §1441 (1970).

of segregation in housing. The Federal Housing Administration, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and the Home Owners Loan Corporation promulgated policies favoring racial residential exclusion. As the National Commission on Urban Problems reported in 1968, "Federal funds were so used for several decades that their efforts were to intensify racial and economic stratification of America's urban areas."<sup>12</sup>

President John F. Kennedy's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing issued in 1962 was the federal government's first affirmative statement since the Civil Rights Laws of 1866–1871 against segregation in housing.<sup>13</sup> The President directed "all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the federal government, insofar as their functions relate to the provisions, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin."<sup>14</sup> Despite the positive impact of this policy on the general administration of government housing, the Executive Order affected less than one percent of the national housing inventory.<sup>15</sup>

Subsequently, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided that:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.<sup>16</sup>

Racial discrimination in virtually every urban renewal and public housing project was prohibited by the regulations issued to implement Title VI. The enforcement sanction under Title VI was the withholding of government funding from federal housing projects.

Finally, in the Fair Housing Act of 1968 (Title VIII),<sup>17</sup> Congress outlawed discrimination in the sale and rental of public and private housing, financing, provision of brokerage services, and in advertising the sale and rental of housing in such a manner as to evidence a racial preference. This offered a litigation

strategy that could be employed to obtain essential housing services for black residents of central city slums. Litigation is the principal means of enforcement under Title VIII. The person discriminated against may commence a civil action in the federal courts to enforce Title VIII, or the Department of Justice may do so where a "pattern or practice" of racial discrimination exists.

Title VIII extends to all multiple- and single-family dwellings, except owner-occupied single-family dwellings sold or rented without the aid of realtors or salesmen. An owner-occupied boarding house is exempted from coverage if fewer than four other families reside therein independently of each other. Motels and hotels are expressly covered by the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but probably are not within Title VIII's coverage of "dwellings."

But integration strategies notwithstanding, separation between the races has increased. A national commission found that urban poverty areas contain four out of five of all housing units occupied by nonwhites, that one in four nonwhite families live in substandard housing as compared to one in eleven white families, and that nonwhites must earn one-third more than whites in order to afford decent housing.<sup>18</sup> The exodus of whites to the suburbs has further intensified separation between the races. Yet integration strategies have not failed. They have produced a national policy against racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing that comes to the aid of individual blacks who are able to pay the same housing access and maintenance costs charged whites. Still, racial integration alone does not respond to the needs of the preponderance of blacks who remain locked in the jowls of inner city slums.

The problem may well be that integration strategies focus on the racial identity of the populations inhabiting dwellings in targeted neighborhoods rather than on the services rendered to those neighborhoods. "Housing services are what residents actually get in the way of shelter, heat, hot water, security, cleanliness, and so on."<sup>19</sup> Racial discrimination denies blacks access to white neighborhoods and deprives blacks of adequate housing services. While integration strategies respond directly to the access problem, they are incapable of responding immediately to the service problem.

Service deficiencies were significant catalysts that produced the urban riots of the late 1960's. Blacks complained of inadequate police practices, inadequate education, poor recreation facilities and programs, inadequate sanitation and garbage removal, inadequate health and hospital facilities, inadequate street paving and lighting, and poor housing code enforcement.<sup>20</sup> Such underservice has exacerbated an ugly, filthy, decadent environment. Indeed,

The most concrete fact of the ghetto is its physical

<sup>12</sup> United States National Commission on Urban Problems, *Building the American City* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 78–79.

<sup>13</sup> Executive Order No. 11063, 3 C.F.R. 652 (1959–63).

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*

<sup>15</sup> United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 427–430.

<sup>16</sup> 42 U.S.C. §2000(6)(1) (1970).

<sup>17</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3601 (1970).

<sup>18</sup> The President's Commission on Urban Housing, *A Decent Home* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 7–8.

<sup>19</sup> Isler, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>20</sup> Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 146–148.



ugliness—the dirt, the filth, the neglect. In many stores walls are unpainted, windows are unwashed, service is poor, supplies are meager. The parks are seedy with lack of care. The streets are crowded with people and refuse. In all of Harlem, there is no museum, no art gallery, no art school, no sustained “little theater” group; despite the stereotype of the Negro as artist, there are only five libraries. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Suburban residents who work in the city but live elsewhere deprive the city of the resources that could be used to improve housing services. Suburbia also exploits the services that are paid for largely by the blood, sweat, and tears of poorer city residents. By exploiting central city services such as urban transportation, roads, parks, and museums, suburbanites reduce the quantity of services that city residents may receive. At least two economists have proposed that this trend should be encouraged as an inducement to upper income suburbanites to resume residence in the cities.<sup>22</sup> The proposal requires an increase in the level of services offered to upper income people per tax dollar paid. Obviously, the premise is that as services increase and the tax bill decreases, the likelihood that the locality will be selected as a place of residence is enhanced.

Such a solution would worsen subhuman living conditions in ghetto areas and would intensify neighborhood service differences. Racial tensions would probably increase and tactics like reverse block busting would appear. The exploitation of the poor and victimized racial minorities for the sake of the upper income must cease if metropolitan America is to be saved from Vonnegut's 2158 A.D.<sup>23</sup>

Can the courts remedy the problem of rendering adequate housing services to the city? Consider the situation in which the victimized neighborhood is a black ghetto area of a typical central city. What legal strategies could and should be employed to improve the quality and quantity of services delivered to that ghetto area? One strategy has been employed: forcing a city to offer equal services to all neighborhoods, i.e., “services equalization.”

### SERVICES EQUALIZATION STRATEGY

The goal of such a strategy is to force the municipality to raise the quantity and the quality of public services received in the black ghetto to the levels de-

livered to the white ghetto. The increase in services in the black ghetto is accomplished only if significant disparities exist between public services received in two separate and distinct, racially segregated neighborhoods of a single town or city.

The first services equalization case to receive the light of judicial decision was *Coleman v. Aycock*.<sup>24</sup> That case signaled the difficulty the strategy would face. Although black citizens of Belzoni, a small Mississippi town, sought injunctions to end inequality in a variety of public services, the court rejected each claim because of a failure to establish significant disparities in service between black and white sections of town. The fact that the black section of town was inadequately serviced had no legal significance under this strategy unless a prima facie case of inequality could be made.

The *Aycock* case also demonstrated that the equalization of services strategy would encounter some difficulties in a metropolitan area. The plaintiffs alleged that an area located outside the city limits that received water from the city should also receive sewerage services from the city. The court held, however, that no state statute required the city to provide extra-territorial services. The problem is how to obtain adequate services under the equalization strategy when the adequately served community is within the jurisdiction of one unit of local government and the underserved community is in another. If, for example, the well-served communities are suburban towns and the underserved community is in the central city, the equalization strategy would probably fail to afford a remedy.

With this inauspicious inauguration, the equalization of services strategy moved to a second southern town. In *Hadnott v. City of Prattville, Alabama*,<sup>25</sup> black residents sought to enjoin the city from offering street paving, sidewalks, rain gutters, and sewerage lines in a racially discriminatory manner. Despite significant differences in the delivery of these public services to the black and white sections of town, the court held that racial discrimination was not involved, since the recipients of these services had to pay special assessments to receive them. The court stated that:

The evidence also reflects that the reason that a larger percentage of the white residents are residing in houses fronting paved streets is due to the difference in the respective landowners' ability and willingness to pay for the property improvements. This difference in the paving of streets and the establishment of sewerage and water lines does not constitute socially discriminatory inequality. The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was not designed to compel uniformity in the face of difference.<sup>26</sup>

The court might have found that the differences were indeed racially discriminatory had it been willing to extend its inquiry beyond the surface level. The

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Miller and William Tabb, “A New Look at a Pure Theory of Local Expenditures,” *National Tax Journal*, vol. 26 (1973), pp. 161, 170–172.

<sup>23</sup> Kurt Vonnegut's short story, *Tomorrow and Tomorrow*, is a warning of what will occur if current patterns of population growth continue. His theme is that man's wastefulness and greed, as exemplified by competition for space, will result ultimately in the destruction of the earth.

<sup>24</sup> 304 F. Supp. 132 (N.D. Miss. 1969).

<sup>25</sup> 309 F. Supp. 967 (N.D. Ala. 1970).

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 970.

court was not concerned about whether de jure or de facto racially discriminatory practices produced total residential separation between the races. Residential segregation alone compelled blacks to live in the unpaved areas. Similarly, differences in ability to pay the assessments may have resulted from de jure or de facto racial discrimination in employment and in the general availability of economic opportunities. Thus, the case did not involve mere wealth discrimination but racial discrimination that resulted in significant disparities in economic ability between black and white residents. Any dispensation of public services based on race would contravene the equal protection mandate of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The most significant case in the equalization of services series is *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw, Mississippi*.<sup>27</sup> Fundamental to the *Shaw* case was the question of whether statistical evidence of disparities in services furnished to white and black neighborhoods was sufficient to establish a prima facie case of racial discrimination. The majority in the *Hawkins* case answered this question affirmatively and, in so doing, heaped upon the town of Shaw, Mississippi, the heavy burden of demonstrating that a compelling state interest could overcome the prima facie case. The *Shaw* statistics revealed that nearly 98 percent of all homes fronting on unpaved streets were occupied by black people; none of the homes occupied by black people were served by sanitary sewers; 100 percent of all high-intensity street lights were in white sections of town. The court heard in these statistics the conundrum of a prosperous nation: the inability to equalize social, political, and economic opportunities for millions of black, brown, red, and poor Americans whose immediate environment is polluted by "poor housing, overcrowded conditions and, in short, overall deterioration."

Statistics that expose gross inequities in the distribution of government services have constituted the ramports of the prima facie case of racial discrimination for nearly a century. Ninety-two years ago, the Supreme Court held, in *Neal v. Delaware*,<sup>28</sup> that figures showing that no black person had ever been summoned as a juror in the state courts presented a prima facie case of racial discrimination. Since that time, the Supreme Court has reaffirmed this position in a legion of cases involving the exclusion of blacks from jury service.

<sup>27</sup> 461 F. 2d 1171 (5th Cir. 1972).

<sup>28</sup> 103 U.S. 370 (1880).

<sup>29</sup> 405 U.S. 625 (1972).

<sup>30</sup> *Id.* at 630.

<sup>31</sup> The higher the proportion of blacks living in the adequately serviced area, the lower the probability of success in establishing a prima facie case of invidious racial discrimination. The higher the degree of racial exclusion from the preferred services, the greater the likelihood that the judiciary's rigid scrutiny will be invoked.

<sup>32</sup> 349 U.S. 294 (1954).

In a recent decision on the subject, *Alexander v. Louisiana*,<sup>29</sup> the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of a black man on the ground that blacks were systematically excluded from the grand jury. The statistics in *Alexander v. Louisiana* revealed a substantial disparity between the proportion of blacks in the eligible population and the proportion of blacks chosen for jury duty. Unlike the *Shaw* court, which moved in rapid succession from its statistical findings to a conclusion that a prima facie case existed, the Supreme Court was not willing to rely solely on statistics. Mr. Justice Byron W. White, writing for a unanimous court, stated:

This court has never announced mathematical standards for the demonstration of "systematic" exclusion of blacks, but has rather emphasized that a factual inquiry is necessary in each case which takes into account all possible explanatory factors. The progressive decimation of potential Negro grand jurors is indeed striking, but we do not rest our conclusion that Petitioner has demonstrated a prima facie case of invidious racial discrimination on statistical improbability alone, for the selection procedure themselves were not racially neutral. The racial designation on both the questionnaire and the information card provided a clear and easy opportunity for racial discrimination.<sup>30</sup>

Notably, the Supreme Court did not rule out the possibility that in a proper case it would rest a prima facie case solely on statistical evidence of disparity. Total exclusion cases have more frequently triggered prima facie-ness without additional facts. Accordingly, in *Shaw*, where the town was "almost totally segregated" and where service differentials were nearly 100 percent, the Court of Appeals could safely rely on the statistical data. Beyond *Shaw*, however, where communities are not so completely segregated and where exclusion is substantial but less than total, statistical evidence alone will not carry the burden of establishing a prima facie case of racial discrimination.<sup>31</sup>

Even though the *Shaw* case involved the delivery of such mundane services as street paving and street lighting, the decision is potentially as significant as *Brown v. Board of Education*<sup>32</sup> for the attainment of equal opportunities for racial minority groups. The *Brown* case became the precedent for the integration strategy of the civil rights movement. Brown's progeny represent the full range of social and economic problems confronting black people, including the use of the equal protection clause to remedy the myriad problems resulting from racial separation.

It was quickly observed that segregation of the public schools merely reflected deep-seated problems, not the least of which was racial segregation resulting from racial residential patterns. The exodus of whites and job-producing industries from the central cities and their relocation in the suburbs were accompanied

by the fragmentation of local government in metropolitan areas. Decentralization in rendering public services produced a situation in which black ghettos received inadequate housing services.

*Brown v. Board of Education*<sup>33</sup> was clear precedent for the promulgation of an integration strategy. Accordingly, an all-out war was waged to sprinkle racial minority group members throughout metropolitan areas. The strategy included judicial attacks on racial discrimination in housing and racially exclusionary zoning ordinances.

Two realities militate against the immediate success of the integration strategy, and a third reality threatens its total defeat. The first reality is that the large number of black ghetto dwellers make relocation, a sine qua non of residential integration, fiscally impractical and socially undesirable. The second reality is that racial prejudice works in strange and mysterious ways. Doggedly determined to keep black ghetto dwellers outside their borders, suburban towns have erected walls of zoning ordinances and private homeowners have revived contractual arrangements that effectively prevent blacks and the poor from becoming their neighbors. Finally, recent Supreme Court decisions have severely limited the utility of the integration strategy in metropolitan regions.<sup>34</sup>

### AN ALTERNATIVE TO INTEGRATION

The deflation of the value of integration strategies led to a search for alternative strategies. Thus *Hawkins v. Shaw*<sup>35</sup> was widely endorsed as the prelude to a viable alternative.

To some extent, *Hawkins v. Shaw* indicated a willingness to return to the halcyon era of separate but equal. Still the decision represented much more. Ample precedent had been established for effectively monitoring public and private efforts to deprive blacks of housing opportunities. Consequently, forced segregation, an important element in the separate but equal strategies, was not part of the *Hawkins v. Shaw* ghetto enrichment strategy. In recognition of the realities, the strategy exemplified in *Hawkins v. Shaw* was designed to create a decent living environment out of the decadence of black ghettos. Nonetheless, the realities that weakened the integration strategy dealt a devastating blow to the ghetto enrichment strategy.

The limitations of the services equalization strategy have been most apparent in metropolitan areas. At least two attempts have been made to employ the

services equalization strategy in northern cities, and both have failed. In *Bromley-Heath Modernization Committee v. Boston Housing Authority*,<sup>36</sup> public housing tenants alleged that a disparity existed between the security provided for units for the elderly and security for the units for families. The plaintiffs claimed that the residents of the elderly units received more and better services while the residents of family units were almost exclusively black and received inadequate police services. The court concluded that the plaintiffs had not carried their burden of proving that the family units received a lower quality of police services than the elderly units.

Perhaps more significant was the problem of the remedy that would have been required. The court stated that "even a home run on this course of action would result in precious little advantage—a greater share of 'grossly inadequate' police protection, and at the price of taking it from the elderly units."<sup>37</sup>

*Beal v. Lindsay*,<sup>38</sup> a second equalization of services case to arise from a northern city, involved a claim by black and Puerto Rican residents of the Bronx that maintenance and supervisory services at an area park were substantially less adequate than similar services rendered to parks that served predominantly white neighborhoods. The district judge dismissed the complaint because of failure to state a claim on which relief could be granted on the ground that the allegedly adequately serviced parks were accessible to the black and Puerto Rican residents. The Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed the decision, but on different grounds. It rejected the notion that the other parks were available to plaintiffs "who may lack the means to transport themselves and their families to distant parks." But the court limited *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw* to a decision that inequality of input was a constitutional violation. If input is equal, the argument goes, differentials in outcome could exist without offending the constitution.

Implicit in plaintiffs' case is the proposition that the equal protection clause not merely prohibits less state effort on behalf of minority racial groups but demands the attainment of equal results. We very much doubt this, when, as here, the factor requiring added effort is not the result of past illegal action. Nothing in *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw*, supra, suggests that if the town had installed modern street lamps in the black quarter and these were repeatedly vandalized, the town must go on spending, even if this would mean a greater unit expenditure than in other areas. In a case like this, the City has satisfied its constitutional obligations by equal input even though, because of conditions for which it is not responsible, it has not achieved the equal results it desires. . . .<sup>39</sup>

It is difficult to justify an equal input theory in light of the fact that demand may be greater. If demand and actual use are substantially greater, then sameness in input is not equality in input. The same quantity of services may give rise to a situation in which

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., *Milliken v. Bradley*, 42 LW 5249 (1947). See discussion at text accompanying footnotes 40ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Supra*, footnote 27.

<sup>36</sup> 459 F. 2d 1067 (1st Cir. 1972).

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* at 1072.

<sup>38</sup> 468 F. 2d 287 (2d Cir. 1972).

<sup>39</sup> *Id.* at 290.



there are differentials in the quality of services rendered. If the park in the white area is only one-half the size of the park in the black area and serves only one-fourth of the total number of persons who frequent the black park, the same quantity of services would create a difference in the quality of services rendered the parks. Quality differentials would be input inequities since an inadequate quantity will inevitably affect quality. Thus, the statement that the problem in the case involved output equality rather than input equality, was merely a nice way of avoiding the issue in the *Beal* case: whether disparities in quality between the parks presented a prima facie case of racial discrimination. If so, the city officials had to demonstrate that a compelling interest justified the discriminatory treatment. Failure to do so would have given the court the discretion to order that the services be equalized qualitatively.

### LIMITATIONS ON THE EQUALIZATION SERVICES STRATEGY

The services equalization strategy has been eroded by the failure of the Supreme Court to extend its solicitude for the rights of indigents beyond the voting and criminal process cases. In *Jamés v. Valtierra*,<sup>40</sup> the Supreme Court upheld California's constitutional requirement that low-income public housing sites be approved in community referenda. Although the lower court found that "the impact of the law falls upon minorities,"<sup>41</sup> the Supreme Court concluded that "[t]he Article requires referendum approval for any low-rent public housing project, not only for projects that will be occupied by a racial minority."<sup>42</sup> The warning of *Valtierra* is that the Court might fail to find racial discrimination where the classificatory scheme is racially neutral although its impact falls on groups composed of racial majorities and minorities. Accordingly, an underserved area containing poor blacks and whites may be allowable even though a higher number of blacks than whites may reside in the underserved neighborhood.

This loophole in protecting black people from individual discrimination flows from the Court's failure to recognize discrimination against a polyglot group that is predominantly black as discrimination against

black people. *Valtierra* demonstrates the Court's reluctance to cloak indigents with the protections afforded "suspect" classifications. The decision of *Boddie v. Connecticut*, that pricing access to divorce proceedings violated the due process clause rather than equal protection, is another example of the coolness of Chief Justice Warren Burger's Court toward the rights of the poor to equal protection of the laws.

*Rodriguez v. San Antonio School District*<sup>43</sup> also dealt a stultifying blow to the services equalization strategy. That case deprived civil rights advocates of the collateral argument that public services are fundamental interests. The Court's decision in *Lindsey v. Normet*,<sup>44</sup> that there is no constitutional right to a decent home, similarly preempts the fundamental right argument.

These limitations have encouraged caution in any decision to attempt to improve public services in ghetto areas through litigation. From 1967 to the present, less than a dozen service equalization suits have been filed and, of these, only one was successful. No successes have been recorded in the North where, only a few years ago, inadequate public services led to urban riots. The need for a viable ghetto enrichment litigation strategy has led to a search for alternatives to the equalization of services strategy. My search has uncovered Title VIII as a potential source of rights and remedies for the purpose of launching an essential services strategy.

### TITLE VIII AND THE ESSENTIAL SERVICES STRATEGY

Title VIII prohibits private or public acts that render "dwellings" unavailable "because of race."<sup>45</sup> Thus, Title VIII applies to the services problem if the delivery of inadequate services renders dwellings "unavailable" because of the race of the potential beneficiaries. "Dwelling" is defined as "any building, structure, or portion thereof that is occupied as, or designed or intended for occupancy as, a residence by one or more families, and any vacant land that is offered for sale or lease for the construction or location thereon of any such building, structure, or portion thereof."<sup>46</sup> Oversimplification may cause the following fallacious reasoning: adequate sewers are denied the black neighborhood; sewers are not "dwellings" as defined by Title VIII; thus Title VIII is inapplicable to the inadequate sewers case.

But consider the case in which the physical shelter for blacks is sound, yet absolutely no services are provided—no water, no sewers, no sanitation, no street lights, and no fire and police protection. Obviously, the physical structure could no longer be considered "designed or intended for occupancy as a residence."<sup>47</sup> Under Title VIII, a structure must be habitable to qualify as a dwelling. Thus, the failure to extend essential housing services makes these potential dwell-

<sup>40</sup> 402 U.S. 137 (1971).

<sup>41</sup> *Valtierra v. Housing Authority*, 313 F. Supp. 1, 5 (N.D. Cal. 1970).

<sup>42</sup> *Supra*, footnote 40 at 141.

<sup>43</sup> 411 U.S. 1 (1972).

<sup>44</sup> 405 U.S. 56 (1972).

<sup>45</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3604(a) (1970): it shall be unlawful "[t]o refuse to sell or rent after the making of a bona fide offer, or to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion or national origin."

<sup>46</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3602(b) (1970).

<sup>47</sup> See text accompanying footnote 46 *supra*.



ings unavailable because of race. Now suppose that the dwellings are actually occupied and that services are extended; however, significant service differentials exist between black and white neighborhoods. If service qualities and quantities fall so low as to render the dwellings unfit for human habitation, then the dwellings should be considered constructively unavailable. Title VIII is comprehensive enough to make such strained reasoning unnecessary. The statute recognizes that situations may arise in which the discriminatory activity affects the continued occupancy of the dwelling as well as prevents any occupancy by the targeted race. If the services are available to dwellings occupied by blacks at a lower level of quality or quantity "because of race," Title VIII has been violated.

The Section 3604(b) prohibition against racial discrimination "in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale or rental of a dwelling, or in the provision of services in connection therewith"<sup>48</sup> would seem to apply to the situation in which conditions of occupancy differ as a result of the service disparities. This provision is triggered, however, only if there is a sale or rental transaction. The provision may be considered applicable in a situation in which the services are extended to recently sold or rented dwellings occupied by blacks. It is well known that the availability of services affects one's choice of neighborhood. If blacks are compelled to purchase dwellings that are underserved, then the inequity arises "in connection" with the sale. In most cases, the sale or rental transactions themselves will have only a remote connection with the service deficiencies, or will have no relationship to the deficiencies. Does Title VIII apply to non-bargaining transactions affecting dwellings?

Section 3604(a) is the principal provision of Title VIII designed to monitor the sale and rental bargaining processes. After recitations clearly relating to the bargaining problem, the provision declares it unlawful to "otherwise make unavailable or deny; a dwelling to any person because of race, . . ."<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, the specific instances for violating Title VIII expressed in the statute do not span the substantive breadth of Title VIII. Indeed, the statute, by including the "otherwise unavailable" clause, prohibits any private or public activity that renders dwellings available to one race and unavailable to another. Thus, the statute prohibits municipalities from preventing blacks from residing in a town or neighborhood by erecting walls of racially exclusionary zoning ordinances.

Having concluded that Title VIII applies to the

service-disparity case, one must consider whether Title VIII will be an effective remedy in the context of the modern metropolis. Recall that the *Hawkins v. Shaw*—Fourteenth Amendment—equalization strategy encountered considerable difficulty in metropolitan areas. One difficulty involved problems of proving disparity. The failure to establish significant differentials in services would defeat any attempt to obtain relief under an equalization strategy.

Relief may be triggered under Title VIII despite the absence of disparity. Inequality is not the wrong that breaches substantive provisions of the statute, and equality is not the remedy that is always compelled by violations thereof. Unavailability of a dwelling because of race is the principle that offends Title VIII and availability, despite race, is the cure.

In metropolitan areas, the burden of proving significant service disparities between black and white neighborhoods may call for inordinate expenditures for research. Most potential litigants would rather switch neighborhoods than fight at such high prices. Even if the costs of litigation are met by civil rights organizations, the returns may not justify the effort. If the metropolitan area is typical, the significant service disparities will probably be between the neighborhoods that are within the jurisdiction of one local government and the neighborhoods that are governed by another. Intermunicipal disparities would, therefore, require intermunicipal equalization. A majority of the members of the Supreme Court have already opposed intermunicipal busing to remedy racial discrimination in the public schools, and would undoubtedly act similarly if other public services were involved.<sup>50</sup>

If a suburban town's exclusionary zoning ordinances are found to be racially discriminatory, the ordinance violates Title VIII's prohibition against making dwellings unavailable "because of race." Could the courts impose as a remedy the payment of funds by the served town to pay for the extension of essential services to residents of the underserved town? Title VIII contains a broad remedy provision.<sup>51</sup> Courts may issue mandatory injunctions, and grant compensatory and punitive damages and attorney fees and costs for violating the statute. Compensatory damages may be awarded to pay for losses incurred as a result of the violation. Would government have to pay those costs?

Local governments enjoy immunity from suit under some civil rights statutes.<sup>52</sup> Such immunity has not been extended to Title VIII suits, however. Thus, a local government could be ordered to repair wrongs accruing from its violation of Title VIII. Such relief could include an order that the local government cease its racially discriminatory acts as well as an order that it engage in affirmative action to alleviate the bad effects of racial exclusion. Such bad effects often include the deprivation of an opportunity to live in

<sup>48</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3604(b) (1970).

<sup>49</sup> *Supra*, footnote 45.

<sup>50</sup> See *Milliken v. Bradley*, *supra*, footnote 34.

<sup>51</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3612(c) (1970).

<sup>52</sup> *Monroe v. Pope*, 365 U.S. 167 (1961); *City of Kenosha v. Bruno*, 412 U.S. 507 (1973).

neighborhoods that receive adequate housing services. The opportunity may be provided by prohibiting the government from enforcing an exclusionary zoning ordinance and by declaring it invalid. Such a remedy may not always be adequate, however. In many cases (perhaps those in which specific plans for building housing for low income persons have not yet been made) the mere abolition of ordinances would not be an adequate remedy. Where racial discrimination has deprived black neighborhoods of essential housing services, courts may, under Title VIII, order that those services be made available.

The efficacy of Title VIII as a remedy for service deficiencies was demonstrated in *Trafficante v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company*.<sup>53</sup> In that case, two tenants, one black and the other white, filed an administrative complaint with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) pursuant to Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. After HUD failed to secure compliance, the plaintiffs filed a complaint in the federal district court in San Francisco. The complainants alleged that the defendants had discriminated against nonwhite rental applicants by making it known that they would not be welcome, by manipulating the waiting list, by employing discriminatory acceptance standards, by delaying action on their applications. The two tenants alleged that the racially discriminatory practices had caused them to lose the social benefits of living in an integrated community, had deprived them of business and professional advantages that would have accrued if they had been living with members of minority groups, and had caused them to suffer economic and social damage from being stigmatized as residents of a "white ghetto."

Since the tenants had not been excluded from the apartments, the question arose as to whether they were within the class of persons entitled to sue within the Act. Section 3610(a) defines a "person aggrieved" as "[a]ny person who claims to have been injured by a discriminatory housing practice or who believes that he will be irrevocably injured by a discriminatory housing practice that is about to occur."<sup>54</sup> Both the District Court and the Court of Appeals held that petitioners were not persons aggrieved. The Supreme Court reversed, with Mr. Justice William O. Douglas writing the majority opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court.<sup>55</sup>

The concepts of community as found in *Coleman*<sup>56</sup> and of ghetto as found in *Trafficante*<sup>57</sup> may be synonymous with neighborhood. If so, the message of *Trafficante* is that Title VIII allows residents of white

ghetto neighborhoods to challenge the racially discriminatory policies that prevent blacks from living there. Of course, the white people who fled from inner city neighborhoods to live in white ghettos should not be expected to offer themselves as plaintiffs in Title VIII actions. But all suburban dwellers should not be painted with one stroke. Some of them would welcome the opportunity to live in integrated neighborhoods.

The essential services strategy may get some support from the *Trafficante* thesis. If white suburban dwellers may challenge the racially exclusionary tactics of their towns, they may seek as a remedy the equalization of services in black ghetto areas. Such a remedy could be imposed if one or more suburban towns and the inner city were party defendants. Plaintiffs would include residents of the affected communities. The metropolitan enrichment thesis would hold that racial discrimination by suburban towns violated Title VIII by making housing services unavailable to black ghetto dwellers. The remedy would be a court order that such services be made available. Metropolitan plans could be submitted to the court for the rendering of services to the targeted population.

The courts' obligation to invalidate government activities that transgress federal laws cannot be denied. While the courts have evidenced some reluctance to remedy social and economic conditions caused by inadequate housing and unhealthy living environments, the courts profess a continued willingness to stamp out racial discrimination. Lawyers and legal institutions must find the thread that unites the judiciary's disdain for invidious discrimination and the black need for decent homes in suitable living environments. That thread will undoubtedly lie in the fact that racial discrimination by government through land use controls and by private contract devices lower the quantity and quality of housing services offered to blacks and cause them to live under miserable and disreputable housing conditions. As Mr. Justice Douglas stated in *Berman v. Parker*, substandard housing conditions:

... may do more than spread disease and crime and immorality. They may also suffocate the spirit by reducing the people who live there to the status of cattle. They may indeed make living an almost insufferable burden. They may also be an ugly sore, a blight, on the community, which robs it of charm, which makes it a place from which men turn. The misery of housing may despoil a community as an open sewer may ruin a river.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> 409 U.S. 205 (1972).

<sup>54</sup> *Supra*, footnote 53.

<sup>55</sup> 42 U.S.C. §3610(a) (1970).

<sup>56</sup> 304 F. Supp. 132 (N.D. Miss. 1969).

<sup>57</sup> *Supra*, footnote 53.

<sup>58</sup> *Berman v. Parker*, 348 U.S. 26, 32-33 (1954).

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*"The greatest barrier, indeed the only real barrier, to black economic opportunity in America has been and will continue to be white racism."*

# Blacks and the American Economy

BY LLOYD L. HOGAN

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**D**URING THE DECADE between 1960 and 1970, black Americans seemed to be moving in all directions at once. The civil rights movement, with its marches and sit-ins and demonstrations, encompassed large masses of blacks. Black riots in the large cities hinted at serious conflagrations to come. Black student revolts were omens of change in American higher education.

By decade's end, however, an increasing number of commentators had concluded that while the fire was raging in the streets blacks had made great economic strides. More blacks than ever before were attending colleges; the gap between black and white family income was narrowing; more blacks were employed in white collar jobs. In short, blacks had apparently placed themselves squarely in the American economic mainstream.

But all this was a mirage. Closer scrutiny indicated that blacks still had a long way to go. As a matter of fact, if drastic measures are not taken during the 1970's, the plight of these citizens may well approach catastrophe.

In the capitalist economy of the United States the amenities of life are determined by the endowments of private individual wealth. The black population in the United States is singularly distinguished by its lack of private wealth ownership. Henry S. Terrell<sup>1</sup> estimates that in 1966 black families owned less than one percent of the equity in American farms and business enterprises.

A more dramatic way of illustrating the scarcity of black wealth is to identify the number of blacks who are active employers of workers and those who are not. On the basis of the 1970 Census *Special Reports*<sup>2</sup> and the 1969 Census *Survey of Minority-*

*Owned Business*,<sup>3</sup> it is estimated that there are not more than 4,000 black families, consisting of some 15,000 individuals, who own viable commercial farms or business firms and whose main livelihood derives from profits, interest, dividends, rents, and so on earned from ownership of these enterprises.

It is also estimated that not more than 200,000 black families, consisting of some 650,000 individuals, are self-employed in small and marginal farms and businesses. For these families, the income derived from these businesses consists primarily of wages for their own labor. They employ little, if any, paid labor outside their own families.

The remaining 6 million black families, consisting of some 21.7 million individuals, earn their living primarily from the sale of their work skills. Thus, the laboring black population consists of more than 96 percent of the total black population.

In general, the facts of life for black people suggest that economic opportunity in the United States is primarily a function of the jobs they are able to acquire. But job placement is not a random process. Indeed, it is one of the most systematic economic events, related in a definitive way to the race of the job applicant. Complementary factors not only serve to ration jobs among individuals of the same race, but also help to strengthen the barriers that separate the races. Some of these factors are the general level of economic activity, the region of residence, schooling, sex and age.

## BLACK JOBS—WHITE JOBS

Race is the overriding basis for occupational placement in the United States. Some jobs are strictly reserved for blacks; some are strictly reserved for whites; and a third category is racially indifferent. In general, the white collar (other than clerical) and highly skilled crafts occupations are reserved for whites; the semiskilled crafts, unskilled laborers, and service occupations are reserved for blacks. In recent years, clerical jobs have become almost racially indifferent, although there is still a slight bias in favor of whites.

<sup>1</sup> See Henry S. Terrell in "The Wealth Accumulation of White and Black Families" (printed as part of the proceedings of the American Economic Association, May, 1971).

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Survey of Minority-Owned Business* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).

A finer classification of jobs would reveal more clearly the pronounced racial job bias. For example, blacks constitute 9.5 percent of all those employed, but they comprise 38 percent of the private household workers and 19 percent of the non-farm laborers. In contrast, only 3 percent of the sales workers and 3 percent of the managers and administrators are black.

From the standpoint of industry, blacks are underrepresented in agriculture, mining, trade and finance; they are overrepresented in the service industries and in government. Nevertheless, these industry-wide racial patterns merely reflect the relative concentration of racially biased jobs.

As a result of this racist determination of employment, blacks hold the jobs that are the least prestigious and pay the lowest wages, and blacks are paid less than their white counterparts in those instances where they both perform the same tasks.

At any given time, the state of the business cycle determines the ebb and flow of employment. Over the long term, the secular trend in business activity determines the growth in employment.

During the rising phases of the cycle, overall employment rises and there is an improvement in black employment. The opposite occurs during the declining phases of the cycle. Nevertheless, blacks are generally the last to be hired in the upswing and the first to be fired in the downswing. Black unemployment thus becomes a "leading indicator" of the downturn and a "lagging indicator" of the upturn.

In the past, periods of war or preparation for war have seen the most rapid rise in black employment, and cyclical recessions and structural downward readjustments of the economy have been the harbingers of widescale black unemployment. But even in periods of prosperity, blacks experience an unemployment rate of depression magnitude. The official statistic for the 1960's and the early years of the 1970's is an almost constant 10 percent, twice the official rate for whites.

Unfortunately, the prospect for a change in this circumstance is bleak indeed. Blacks have no direct role in determining the level of economic activity. Decisions about war and peace and the determination of the strategic economic generators are not within the capability of the black population. Large-scale public and private investment decisions, changes in the money supply, public taxing and expenditure policy, wage and price determination—all these are in the hands of government and large-scale business and financial institutions.

Until blacks can exercise some decisive influences on these institutions, they will continue to play a passive role in determining job opportunities. Official black unemployment will hover around the 10 to 12 percent figure for a long time to come. In the most optimistic terms this means a long-term net addition

to black employment of 150,000 annually. In more pessimistic terms, this also means a net growth in the pool of unemployed blacks of approximately 100,000 out-of-school youth each year.

It is estimated that the pool of black unemployed now numbers approximately 650,000 families on social security and public welfare, 900,000 men and women actively seeking work, 600,000 who have been expunged from the official government statistics, plus another 280,000 in the armed forces. Thus, a total of 2.4 million black men and women, about 25 percent of the labor force, act as a dead weight on the wage rates of the employed black labor force.

As agriculture declined in the South, manufacturing and service industries began expanding in the North. Industrial demand for workers, coupled with the growth of strong labor unions, created a disparity in wages between North and South, in favor of the North.

Subsequently, a dramatic northward migration moved millions of blacks out of the South, partly in response to the pull of employment and higher wages, partly in response to the push from declining employment and racial discrimination in the South. Nevertheless, some 52 percent of the blacks still reside in the South. And there is growing evidence that black northern migration may have come to a standstill and may even be reversing itself. Thus, large-scale black migration as a regional equalizer of wage rates is no longer an alternative. As more and more industries move southward and as civil rights legislation becomes more effective, a return to the South may enhance the black income posture.

## BLACK WOMEN

Black women have traditionally played an important role in the labor force. Not only have they supplemented the meager incomes of their spouses but in a significant number of households they have been the chief breadwinners.

Today, black women constitute 45 percent of the black labor force. Moreover, about one-half (23 percent of the black labor force or 50 percent of the black female labor force) of these women are the heads of their households and consequently the main wage earners.

But American society also relegates black women to certain specific occupations. They are greatly over-

*(Continued on page 234)*

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*"In some colleges and universities they will become permanent departments with the same kind and degree of respect that other departments now enjoy. In other institutions, they will cease to be considered as separate from the regular curriculum and will consist of individual undergraduate and graduate courses offered by the regular departments in the areas of the humanities and the social sciences."*

## Black Studies Programs

BY NICK AARON FORD

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THE TERM BLACK STUDIES refers to educational courses primarily concerned with the study of and research in various aspects of the experiences, attitudes, and cultural artifacts of black people of African origin. It includes the experiences and expressions of Africans, Afro-Americans, Afro-Asians, Afro-Europeans, and African descendants of the Caribbean and other island territories. It was first used in connection with the establishment, under duress by militant black students, of the program at San Francisco State College in 1968, the first program of its kind at a predominantly white institution of higher education. It differs from the designation African studies (counterpart of Russian studies, Scandinavian studies), which were offered in a number of white universities long before 1968; the focus is not on a geographical region but on an ethnic group not confined to territorial boundaries, with prime emphasis on the Afro-American component. Many universities have organized separate programs in both African studies and Afro-American or black studies. There are very few combined programs of African and Afro-American studies like the Africana studies at Cornell University. The prototype in American education most similar to black studies is Jewish (Judaica) studies, which have been included in the curricula of a number of prestigious universities for many years.

Black studies differ from ethnic studies in concept and rationale, although they are often erroneously classified in the same category. Black studies are concerned primarily with the history, literature, art, music, religion, cultural patterns, and life styles developed in America by a race of people cut off completely from all contact with the land of their origin. On the other hand, ethnic studies (not including Indian studies) are concerned largely with the history and culture of immigrant groups whose cultural patterns and life styles are chiefly reflections of those in their

mother country. They have never been forced to lose contact with their roots and have been encouraged by the "melting pot" theory to participate freely and equally in American life and culture.

Although the term Afro-American studies has the same denotation as black studies, the latter has a more significant connotation—one of pride in the concept of blackness, which in the past had been regarded as a badge of inferiority and shame. The term black studies is especially fitting, since one important reason for such programs is the enhancement of pride of heritage in those who for so long despised their origin on the so-called "dark continent."

Although San Francisco State College, during the second semester of the 1967-68 school year, was the first predominantly white college or university to recognize black studies as a valid concept deserving academic credit, it was not the first educational institution of higher learning to accept the idea as legitimate. Black studies were being offered for academic credit, under the name of Negro studies, more than 50 years ago by black colleges. In Negro colleges in the academic year 1921-22, there was an aggregate of 17 courses dealing exclusively with black life and culture. There were also distinguished white scholars producing research and publications concerning Negro life and culture during that early period.

During the 40 years between 1927 and 1967, nine black colleges increased their academic offerings in Negro studies from an aggregate of 17 to 184 courses, approximating an average of 20 courses per college, while the white colleges and universities continued to deny the validity of such studies except as parts of courses in the social sciences.

There are several arguments against black studies that are made again and again by highly intelligent people, including some black civil rights leaders and some black professors at prestigious white universities. One argument is that black studies lead students into

a blind alley. It poses the rhetorical question: *What can a student do with a major in black studies?* This argument does not stand up for two reasons. First, a student with a major in black studies can do anything with it that a major in philosophy can do, except teach philosophy. Yet critics raise no objections to a major in philosophy. In addition to being qualified to teach courses in black studies on the secondary level, a black studies major with a satisfactory academic record can qualify to enter professional schools of law, medicine, and social work, as well as various fields of graduate study, like any other college graduate. Second, with such a major the student can use his knowledge about black life and culture to furnish enlightened leadership in the black community and in interracial affairs in general. Furthermore, critics who raise this argument seem to imply that all black students interested in black studies wish to major in the field when, in reality, less than ten percent of the blacks enrolled in an institution with such a program chooses to pursue a black studies major. Most black and many white students are interested in taking one or more courses in the field.

A second argument is that the courses offered in black studies are substandard, created primarily to permit students to substitute "rapping" for serious study and intellectual discipline. The answer to this charge is that there are, of course, some abuses in all human activities that should be curbed by organized authority. Any college or university that permits flagrant abuses of academic discipline in its black studies program should be censured by regional and national accrediting authorities as in cases of maladministration in other areas of college administration. This critic is attempting to judge the validity of a concept by its worst rather than by its best manifestations.

A third argument claims that there is a tendency of some programs to emphasize training in political and ideological warfare as a means of liberating the black community.

A fourth argument charges that black studies foster separatism at a time when the national focus appears to be on the promotion of racial integration. Although this tendency was overwhelming in the early period of the black studies movement, it has now been superseded by a more tolerant attitude among black students. There are no longer demands for separate dormitories or separate classes based on race, although there is continued insistence on black culture centers on the campus that are open to all students.

A fifth argument insists that black studies encourage the relaxation of entrance requirements (open admissions), thus lowering the standards for graduation

from the college or university. The fallacy of this argument lies in the fact that admissions and graduation are entirely different ends of a process separated by four or more years. There is no necessary relation between the two. The best black studies programs offer formal and informal remedial aid to students who need it. In almost all cases, black students with well-developed learning skills and superior backgrounds in basic fields of study serve as tutors for the less prepared. The Center for Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Michigan provides an effective remedial and enrichment program under the title of Coalition for the Use of Learning Skills (CULS), which is described as "not a program for black students. Rather, it is a program of black people and other people in the University who have experienced the oppressive effects of racism and exploitation and are determined to contribute to changing those effects through improving and using their skills."

### ARGUMENTS FOR BLACK STUDIES

Many arguments can be made for black studies. The one that comes to mind first is the need of the black American for a worthy identity, the need to be reassured that he, like his white counterpart, has a history and a culture worthy of study and appreciation.

But probably the most compelling argument, because of its objectivity and comprehensiveness, can be stated thus: Unless and until black studies in some honest and effective form are incorporated into the curricula of all levels of American education, what now passes for "education" is in reality "miseducation," for without such incorporation it is possible and generally probable for an American student to pass through kindergarten, elementary school, secondary school, college, and university without learning the truth about a single noteworthy contribution that blacks have made to American life and culture.

Joe R. Feagin, an associate professor at the University of Texas, in discussing the findings of a study he made of white attitudes toward black Americans, says: "... the limited understanding of the Negro role in history even among those whites who consider that role to have been important, reflected in an emphasis on such things as sports, dance, religion, slavery, and one or two notable Negro leaders, indicates the need for black studies programs for whites, courses of study emphasizing the many accomplishments of black Americans as portrayed in the now burgeoning scholarly literature."<sup>1</sup>

S. I. Hayakawa, retiring (1974) president of San Francisco State College, first joined battle verbally and physically against the militant efforts of black Professor Nathan Hare and a rebellious group of black students at the college to establish the first black studies program at a white university during the

<sup>1</sup> "Black History and White Americans," *Integrated Education*, vol. 8 (November-December, 1970), p. 6.

academic year 1967–68. But in a published article two years later Hayakawa declared:

Black studies, first of all, is the study of American Negroes—their art and music and literature, their sociology, their special problems, their place in the history and culture of America. Surely the story of 22 million of our fellow citizens in the U.S. should be studied, not only by blacks but by everybody!

But that story has never been properly or fully written. For almost a century after Emancipation, America's solution to the race problem was not to think about it. The state of scholarship about Negro history and culture reflects the public's long-standing lack of interest in the subject.

Black studies that serve to round out our knowledge of America by studying the Negro's contribution are, then, a legitimate and necessary intellectual enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

### ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS

There are three basic organizational patterns in black studies programs. The interdisciplinary or interdepartmental pattern is by far the most widely representative, now used by more than 75 percent of participating institutions. This pattern requires a chairman or director charged with the responsibility of directing the overall program with the cooperation of various departments from which relevant courses are chosen for inclusion, especially departments in the humanities and the social sciences. When new teachers are needed, they are recommended to the chairman of the appropriate department by the program director, and a joint appointment is made with the instructor's tenure in and major responsibility to the department of his or her major specialization. Thus an instructor in black literature, for instance, will be a member of the English or literature department, while one in black history will owe his major allegiance to the department of history. Under this arrangement, the quality of instruction in any course in the black studies program is expected to be on par with all other courses in that department of the particular college or university.

A major argument in favor of the interdisciplinary approach is that it is the most logical way to force students and faculty to recognize black studies as an integral part of the normal educational process. It insists that a satisfactory college curriculum must provide for the inclusion of the black experience in every course that can legitimately include it, either by integrating it into the subject matter of the basic mainstream course or by organizing a separate course as a supplement or an alternative. Opponents of the interdisciplinary pattern argue that teachers in such a program are unfairly subjected to unsympathetic administrators for evaluation of their performance—an evaluation for which these administrators have neither the special knowledge nor a sympathetic understand-

ing as valid bases for judgment. If teachers need special training in and appreciation of ethnic history and culture as a basis for their selection, why should administrators without these qualifications be able to evaluate their performance?

More than one-third of current directors prefer the second organizational pattern—the independent or semiautonomous department—although less than 25 percent of the programs are organized in that manner. Proponents suggest that such an organization “gives focus, thrust, and a sense of duration, while minimizing problems of coordination.” Some who favor this pattern argue that an independent department “facilitates the hiring of competent teachers without adhering to rigid, unrealistic requirements in respect to academic degrees.” But many opponents argue that departmental status encourages undue emphasis on ideological goals inimical to the rigorous scholarship characteristic of the interdisciplinary pattern.

A third type of organization is the semiautonomous school with the privileges and responsibilities of other such units in a university, municipal, or state system. There are very few examples of this organizational pattern, the best known being Malcolm X College in the municipal junior college system of Chicago during the presidency of Charles Hurst and the Third College of the University of California at San Diego.

More than 200 objectives are listed for the approximately 200 organized programs in black studies, 70 of which are varied enough in wording and meaning to be regarded as different. However, they may be summarized in six major categories:

- 1) To provide for black students a feeling of personal identity, personal pride, and personal worth;
- 2) To offer a systematic study of the origins and experiences of black people; their history, living conditions, philosophies, social values, artistic expressions, and other achievements, and the effects of their relations with other peoples;
- 3) To do research in and provide services to the black community and its organizations by jointly identifying and analyzing its problems, offering consultation, and establishing service channels into the community from the diverse resources of the college or university;
- 4) Radically to reform American education by attacking its basic racist assumptions and making it truly democratic and relevant to the current needs of blacks and whites;
- 5) To prepare students for career opportunities, including the professions;
- 6) To encourage and actively develop intellectual growth and broad scholarly interests in students affiliated with the program.

To promote these objectives there is a variety of course offerings in each program ranging from 30 to 50. The 15 most common general subjects, each in

<sup>2</sup> *On the Record*, SFC Pamphlet 70-S (April 1, 1970), p. 9.



several specialized varieties, in the order of their popularity, percentagewise, are: history, 20.5 percent; sociology, 19.3 percent; literature, 16.6 percent; political science, 11.9 percent; anthropology, 6.2 percent; psychology, 4 percent; music, 3.5 percent; economics, 3.4 percent; African languages, 2.8 percent; speech-rhetoric, 2 percent; religion, 1.8 percent; geography, 1.3 percent; philosophy, 0.9 percent; mass media, 0.5 percent; others, 0.5 percent. It can be seen from this tabulation, based on the analysis of offerings in more than 100 representative programs, that approximately two-thirds of the courses are in the social sciences and the other one-third of the courses are in the humanities.

During the six years from 1968 to 1974 black studies have had a significant impact on the objectives and patterns of American education. They have forced predominantly white colleges and universities to organize unprecedented campaigns to recruit black students, thus increasing black enrollment in institutions of higher education. Although most of these recruits have not indicated any interest in a major in black studies for themselves, all of them have benefited. The proof of this conclusion is that before the thrust for black studies began in 1968, white colleges and universities enrolled fewer than one-half of the total number of black students pursuing courses in the field of higher learning, whereas in 1974 white institutions enrolled more than two-thirds of the black college population.

The success of the black studies fight for recognition has encouraged numerous white ethnic groups, who before 1968 were more interested in the "melting pot" theory of Americanism than in the public glorification of their ethnicity, to seek government funds for the establishment of Ethnic Heritage Studies similar to black studies. Thus when the Ethnic Heritage Center Bill, first introduced in the U.S. Congress by Representative Roman C. Pucinski on November 20, 1969, was signed by President Nixon on June 19, 1972, more than 50 ethnic groups applied to the USOE for funds to set up ethnic study community programs before a committee could draw up preliminary guidelines.

The impact of black studies has also forced many prestigious colleges and universities to abandon highly selective admissions policies and institute some form of open admissions. White institutions are beginning to understand, as black colleges have known for a long time, that the quality of education is measured by the finished product rather than by the initial stage of development. College administrators are gradually learning by experience involving blacks that the combination of native intelligence and motivation (which cannot be accurately measured by culture-bound tests) is a more valid guarantee of academic success than any measuring instrument currently in use.

Black studies have compelled institutions of higher learning to reexamine their curricula to assure more relevance to the problems and opportunities of modern living. Although in some instances black studies have been excessively concerned with the "here" and "now," the colleges and universities have been too satisfied with preparing students for the past instead of for the present and the future.

The impact of black studies has also compelled the colleges and universities to reconsider their obligations to neighboring communities and to consult with community leaders in the search for more effective ways to relate the activities of gown and town.

Further, by demanding partnership with the administration in governance of the college and university the student leaders of the black studies movement have added new dimensions to institutional administration. Thus colleges and universities have been forced to add students to their administration committees, a development that seemed unthinkable before the black student revolt in 1968.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion let us consider the current (1974) status of black studies and their possible future. I prepared and mailed in July, 1974, a brief one-page questionnaire to institutions with representative black studies programs.

Forty questionnaires were returned, signed by the black studies directors representing 18 states.

All but three of the institutions began their programs during the heyday of the black studies movement, 1968-1971. To the question of changing interest among students, faculty, and administration (from a budgetary standpoint) results show, with regard to student interest, no change in 30 percent of the institutions, an increase in interest in 47.5 percent, and a decline in 22.5 percent; with regard to faculty interest, no change in 45 percent of the institutions, an increase in 45 percent, and a decline in 10 percent; with regard to administration interest (measured by budgetary considerations), no change in 35 percent of the institutions, an increase in 55 percent, and a decrease in 10 percent.

As to the assessment of future prospects for black studies at the respondent's institution, the results were as follows: poor, according to 15 percent of the respondents; fair, 10 percent; good, 57.5 percent; excellent, 17.5 percent.

On the basis of my own observations and experi-

*(Continued on page 233)*

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*"In all the media . . . the pattern is painfully clear. The farther one travels from the black folk and the closer one gets to the American public, the more the black image is distorted."*

## A House of Twisted Mirrors: The Black Reflection in the Media

BY EUGENIA COLLIER

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WE ARE SURROUNDED by images. Our world is a house of mirrors in which we see on every side reflections of ourselves in various phases of our existence. When the mirrors are bent or dim or tinted, we see distorted images, and, if we are not aware of the flaws in the mirrors, then we think we really look like that; our concept of ourselves is severely damaged, and actions that flow from that concept are out of tune with reality. The popular media—music, literature, film, television—are important mirrors in which we see ourselves. On one level, the media are considered entertainment. But on a more profound, less obvious, symbolic level, the media are powerful conveyers of messages, insidious manipulators of our minds.

For those of us who are black, the messages of the media are particularly important—more so, I believe, than for whites. The realities of white Americans have already been defined. Whites themselves have defined their world and their place in it: white is right. The Western way is the way that counts. And since whites control most of this country's institutions, we (most of us) accept their definitions as right. Therefore, an aberrated white character on the media is considered simply a "different" individual, and no harm is done to the basic image.

But for blacks, the case is different. Ever since our arrival on these cold shores, we have been told that we are genetically inferior, that we are a problem, that our bondage is our shame. If white Americans admit our worth, most of them will face a terrible guilt that this country is now and has always been unable to face. And most of us blacks grow up convinced, often unconsciously, that we are a degraded people. Hence great numbers of us embark early on the sad and impossible task of eschewing our blackness and adopting attitudes, life styles, and value systems which are (or, at any rate, seem to be) white.

Given the peculiar mind set of both black and

white Americans, the effect of a distorted image of blacks via the media can be crippling. A black man in a film is not merely a man who happens to be black. He is a "black man" who emerges from a distinctive tradition and whose responses reflect that tradition. A character who is stupid, weird, or way out reinforces both the prejudices of many whites and the negative self-image of many blacks. Thus he contributes to our enslavement and postpones our long sought and still elusive liberation.

It would behoove us, then, to examine the nature of the black image in the media. Probably the only medium in which blacks portray themselves truthfully is music. While American history books and literature were skimming over slavery or picturing blacks as a people for whom slavery was not all that bad, the spirituals were telling of a monumental human tragedy to a people of unshakable faith and incredible capacity to endure suffering. The spirituals are strong refutation of Thomas Jefferson's claim that blacks were a shallow people with little intelligence and less creativity. The slaves sang:

O Freedom! Freedom! Freedom over me!  
And before I'd be a slave  
I'd be laying in my grave  
And go home to my Lord and be free!

The slaves sang:

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child  
A long ways from home.

The secular songs revealed the savagery of slavery and its consequences—the patty-rollers, the floggings, the incessant toil, the broken promises of freedom, the hatred for masters (even "kind" ones), the burning desire to be free. Often the songs used a grim sense of humor, a chilling irony. The slaves sang:

Our father who art in heaven,  
White man owe me 'leven, pay me seven.  
Thy kingdom come, thy will be done,  
If I hadn't took that, I wouldn't got none.

And these songs show that the lovely lyrics of Stephen Foster, romanticizing slavery, are vicious lies perpetrated for those who would obscure this nation's collective guilt.

Later, the work songs revealed the unremitting black labor for this nation, revealed the laborer's longing for rest, for peace, for home, for the love of his family and the love of his woman. Revealed the sense of humor that helped to make adversity bearable. And ballads extolled black heroes like John Henry, who challenged the machine and died with his hammer in his hand. Blues further exploited the dimensions of suffering and strength, as such greats as Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Ida Cox, Mamie Smith, and Leadbelly—as well as myriad unknown folk—sang of poverty, toil, natural disasters, prison, love, and the range of black experience. Moreover, blues showed great proficiency in handling language, especially metaphor.

Musicians have always been heroes in black culture, for they have put into music the pain and love and joy that have characterized our sojourn in this hostile land. Whoever can listen *sensitively* to black music (the real thing) can infer the image of the black experience in America, not only from the words but also from the tones and rhythms.

## BLACK LITERATURE

The image of blacks in literature is more complex and requires far more discussion than our space will allow. The most valuable image, perhaps, occurs in the tales told by the folk around cabin fires at the end of toil-ridden days. In those tales, the slave High John de Conquer and his prototypes score on Ole Massa and, in spite of an overwhelming and brutal system, prevail. In those tales, Brer Rabbit, physically weak but mentally strong, tricks the animals who would devour him. In those tales, the sensitive reader/listener observes the varied components of black folk life, a cast of authentic folk characters, and, beneath everything else, the death struggle with American racism.

In conscious literature, black writers labored for generations under a painful dilemma. Whites published the books and largely comprised the book-buying public. These same whites cherished the notion that blacks were inferior. What, then, should the black writer do? Should he tell the truth about black people and their experience in a racist nation, thereby alienating his audience and perhaps even precluding publication? Or should he woo the good opinion of whites by catering to their warped vision of blacks, thereby sacrificing his integrity and his right to be called an artist? Through the years black writers have struggled with this dilemma and have come up with various solutions. Sometimes the solution has demanded painful compromise, and there have been

writers who have cut the Gordian knot by refusing to write on black motifs at all. But in time we have amassed a fine body of literary works vital to our culture. Some of these works have resounded through the world.

The image of the black community has reflected various nuances in different times. Early writers used models of white literature, partly to prove to whites that blacks too, are human, and endowed with intelligence and emotions. Thus the standard English lyrics of Paul Laurence Dunbar and the romantic heroics of the mockingbird poets. Some writers have envisioned blacks as victims of a brutal order in an attempt to appeal to the humanity of whites. Some of the slave autobiographies and the protest writings of the 1940's exemplify this mode. A great many writers have portrayed the black man as a fighter, taking arms against oppression, often suffering death but not suffering defeat. And so through the corridors of time echo the strident voices of David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Claude McKay.

The folk have been a vital part of the black literary image through the years. Charles W. Chesnutt, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, Zora Neal Hurston, Margaret Walker and others launched the portrayal of the folk in conscious literature, and Ralph Ellison brought it to fruition in the 1950's. The philosophy of Negritude, initiated by French-speaking black scholars from Africa and the Caribbean, has accelerated black American writers' concepts of the heritage shared worldwide by the children of Africa—a separate and distinct and complex heritage. Gwendolyn Brooks's insights into basic truths through the perceptions of black womanhood, James Baldwin's tortured personification of the paradoxes and ambiguities that beset blacks, Richard Wright's complex and terrifying image of the alienated existential black—these are a few of the ineradicable imprints on the black literary image. Black writers have explored many other facets of life: the foibles of the middle class, the dilemmas of the light-skinned black, the trials of the black parent, the problem of identity wrought by the dual heritage, the role of Africa, and countless other aspects of life that arise from the fact that a black is a human being in a puzzling and often agonizing world.

In the past decade, black writers have projected a revolutionary image. Writers have addressed a black audience and have laid before them the lessons of their history and the directions of their future. In every genre, writers have pointed out to black people their strengths and weaknesses, their ancient heritage, and the necessity for change. Imamu Amiri Baraka, Don L. Lee, Ed Bullins, Nikki Giovanni, Mari Evans, and many others have demanded that blacks destroy what is negative in this culture and build a culture

based on a black value system. In the 1960's, the literary image was strong and angry.

Almost nowhere does the black writer portray a hero who is bored and listless or who has to search for the "meaning" for which many white heroes long. Almost nowhere is there the existential despair that haunts so much of white literature. Almost nowhere is there the disillusionment and the materialism that infuse much of Western literature. There are themes and forms that overlap, of course, for all literature has a resemblance in deeply human ways; but the black image in our own literature is distinct and many sided.

In literature by white authors, the images of blacks have been sadly incomplete or distorted. American literature in general has tended to regard the black as the all too well-known stereotype or as the Noble Savage. Most American literature has ignored us altogether. Usually the black character will strut and prance upon the pages for his little hour and then fade into oblivion. Twain's Jim is really little more than a Noble Savage devoted to his young white "master" and no kin at all to High John de Conquer. Faulkner's Dilsey is the quintessent Mammy, so dedicated to the Compsons (who treat her wretchedly) that her own family's needs seem secondary. Probably the most heinous recent addition to the sad parade of white-created blacks is Styron's Nat Turner, who is a terrible travesty on a man whom blacks have long regarded as a hero.<sup>1</sup> Somewhere, I am sure, there is a white-created black character who resembles real live blacks. But I have yet to find him. And given the myopia of most white Americans, a realistic image of blacks in white literature will be a long time coming.

In literature, then, blacks have explored many facets of life and have created realistic and many-sided images to which blacks can respond. Recent literature in particular has envisioned revolutionary goals and has shown positive images of self-awareness. White literature has been extremely limited in realistic portrayal of blacks and clings to racist stereotypes.

## FILM AND TELEVISION

It is in film and on television that the most damaging image is perpetrated. Both industries appeal to a mass audience. People who would never pick up a book go to the movies, and it is estimated that over 85 million people watch prime-time television nightly. Both industries are overwhelmingly commercial and are motivated by what will sell rather than by what will educate. And what will sell, regarding black people, is an image that will not rock any boats.

Film has generally followed the lead of fiction; so when blacks have appeared at all, there is the usual assortment of incomplete, unrealistic characters functioning in ways that do not challenge the myth of white superiority. Early films, in fact, treated blacks shamefully, showing us only as clowns, criminals, and generally subhuman types. Even the few sympathetic portrayals, like *Cabin in the Sky* in the 1940's, seldom rose above the stereotype. Now and then a sloppy sentimental piece like *Imitation of Life* would present a warped view of blacks who wanted nothing in this world but to be white and whose humanity (exceptional for blacks) made them deserving. During the 1960's this image was slicked up in the sophisticated Sidney Poitier flicks, in which black and beautiful Sidney proved his humanity over and over by being more intelligent and more sensitive than the whites in whose world he functioned, and sometimes by earning the pristine love of a self-sacrificing white woman. Check out *To Sir with Love*, *In the Heat of the Night*, and that horror story, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*.

The recent rash of movies about blacks has helped very little, despite the fact that certain blacks are having more to say about what goes into films. Melvin Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Badass Song* demonstrated that a lucrative market existed in young blacks who would stand in long lines and pay their money to see some black superstud beating up on whitey—especially if the stud had style. Perhaps more to the point, the new type of hero was challenging the system that has oppressed us for centuries, and there is an obvious psychological mechanism behind the response of young blacks. The damaging aspect of this type of hero is that his challenge is futile (what, really, did Sweetback win?) or that beneath his flamboyant style there are methods destructive to the black community (e.g., *Superfly*, the well-dressed pusher). This is a hero without humanity, and so he is ultimately a loser.

Several more serious films have distorted the black image in a more insidious way. *Lady Sings the Blues* created dreadful misconceptions about Billy Holiday—played up the sensational, omitted incidents that would have contributed to our understanding of her, added several out-and-out lies, even muted the raw tragedy of her last days. Another recent film, *Conrack*, completely overlooked the culture of Sea Islanders in order to show how beautiful and generous and intelligent is the young white teacher who comes to bring enlightenment to the lowly. People have taken these films seriously and believe their distortions.

Nevertheless, some films have attempted to come to grips with a serious portrayal of blacks. For the most part they have been limited in their effectiveness by the American penchant for success and the happy ending. The best of these was undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> Read John Henrik Clarke, *Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).



*Sounder*, which showed not only the suffering but also the family solidarity, the spirit, and the ultimate triumph of a southern black family. Superbly acted, directed, and photographed, the film made an unnecessary bow to American slickness by forsaking the book written by William Armstrong in which both dog and father die and hope is very dim, and substituting the happy ending, with the father and dog in good shape and the boy going off to school and a Bright Future.

More recently *Johnny Tough* has attempted to examine the dynamics of a social climbing middle-class black family and an insensitive school system that ultimately destroy young Johnny. The attempt is undermined by a rather simplistic treatment.

A more popular film, *Claudine*, shows the cold inhumanity of the welfare system in its relationship to individual clients, and the necessity to cheat if one is to survive. Created mainly by blacks, it explores several themes meaningful to the black community. But there are weaknesses. Diahann Carroll looks and acts like a glamorous lady who has just stepped out of a milk bath, not like the impoverished mother of six. And there are other things about the film that smack of the old comfortable-for-whites' image: the black hero hides out to avoid supporting his children; the black nationalist teenager has a vasectomy. Thus the black man is shown as a negative rather than a positive force to the black community.

Film, in general, has been more responsive to moneymaking than to truth, which could be a basis of art. Now and then a film like *Sounder* seems to promise a more honest portrayal, but most films fall victim to the slickness that plagues American popular art. The most effective film image of blacks has been projected in the documentaries on Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, which had limited runs and had neither the press nor the following of *Superfly*.

The medium that so far has a virtually unblemished record for distorting the image of blacks is network television. I say "network television" because on local stations I have seen some excellent presentations of black history, art, and other aspects of culture. But the networks have seldom if ever gone beyond the old stereotypes. Only the disguises have changed.

In the beginning, there were few blacks on television except for occasional entertainers on the *Ed Sullivan Show* and Buckwheat on the old *Our Gang* reruns. Then, on the coattails of the recent upsurge of black awareness, television has been dotted with black characters and even a few black shows. Some of the newscasts include black reporters. Things seem, at first glance, to be looking up. But a closer examination reveals that, for the most part, the image

is still incomplete and misleading.

In the first place, network television rarely shows blacks in a serious mode. The vast majority of regular shows featuring blacks are light comedies. Hospitals (*Temperatures Rising*), war (*Rollout!*), and widowhood (*Julia*) are treated with giggly humor and the most frivolous kinds of conflict. Contrast this humor with the painful humor of folklore.

The most serious treatment of blacks on network television was the dramatization of Ernest J. Gaines's *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. But in spite of the splendor of the production, the television version was whitewashed and thereby diminished. Changing the narrator from black to white, eliminating certain pertinent details, distorting militant Ned's speech to his people on the eve of his death, his passive acceptance of death at the hands of a hired assassin, and the final "triumph" of Jane walking *alone* to the white drinking fountain, where she is *permitted* to drink, instead of going the whole way with the black community—these are a few of the changes that subtly alter the image of blacks from the strong and forthright people of the novel to the same old inferiors of old.<sup>2</sup>

Television, in short, gives no real picture of the black community. Most programs show black individuals trying to function in a white world. These individuals are virtually indistinguishable from whites in their goals, values, and life styles. What is black about Shaft, Julia, Ozzie and Harriet's tenant, and the black couple in that horrid *Love Thy Neighbor*? The message they bring is that blacks are supposed to be like whites, that the good life is white.

Some programs portray blacks functioning among other blacks. But theirs is a distorted world, curiously resembling our real black world, but twisted so that negative elements are emphasized and positive ones are concealed, glossed over with slickness and superficiality. As a result, theirs is a world strangely without pain, with the same silly conflicts that characterize typical Euro-American family fare.

The major program in this genre is the top-rated *Sanford and Son*, which in the past has presented extremely negative images of black manhood and womanhood, parent and child relationships, and sexuality. However, star Redd Foxx has held out for a better image, and perhaps we can hope for some improvement. *Good Times*, conceived and written by blacks, is a more realistic portrayal of a black family who must struggle against the many ills that beset us and who have the strengths that blacks

(Continued on page 234)

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<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed discussion, consult in Alvin Ramsay, "Through a Glass Whitely: The Televised Rape of Miss Jane Pittman," *Black World*, August, 1974.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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### ON BLACK AMERICA

**BLACKS AND THE MILITARY IN AMERICAN HISTORY.** BY JACK D. FONER. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974. 278 pages, bibliographical essay and index, \$10.00.)

Over the years blacks have proved that in the United States the "whites were ready to share the risks, while stubbornly blocking access to the benefits. Nowhere has this experience been more fully demonstrated than in the black experience in the armed forces." Jack Foner has written the history of the black soldier from early colonial days to the volunteer army today.

**THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, 1910-1940.** BY NANCY J. WEISS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. 402 pages, notes, appendix and index, \$12.50.)

The author has written a detailed history of the National Urban League during that period when the league was "the principal agency dealing with the problems of blacks in American cities."

**TIME ON THE CROSS: The Economics of American Negro Slavery.** BY ROBERT W. FOGEL AND STANLEY L. ENGERMAN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974. 286 pages and index, \$8.95.)

The authors offer a sweeping reexamination of the economic foundations upon which American Negro slavery was based and come up with new and challenging assumptions about slavery and the antebellum South. This readable book is bound to cause comment because of its conclusion, based on statistics, that black Americans successfully maintained their integrity even as slaves.

**QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL AMERICANS.** BY WILLIAM F. BRAZZIEL. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1974. 264 pages, appendices and index, \$8.95.)

The author hopes that the ideas set forth in this book will "give hope and spur effective planning for the last quarter-century [of this era]. Bringing about quality education for Black Americans is quite possible during these years." Some of Brazziel's proposals are novel and challenging, suggesting new programs well worth attention.

**BREAKING THE BONDS OF RACISM.** BY PAUL AND OUIDA LINDSEY. (Homewood, Ill.: E.T.C.

Publications, 1974. 219 pages, bibliography and index, \$8.95.)

The authors describe the life style, housing, economics and educational process of many black people in America today, and offer suggestions for making their lives more livable.

**BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** BY RAYMOND H. GILES, JR. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974. 156 pages and selected bibliography, \$15.00.)

Raymond Giles has authored a treatise on the reason and need for black studies programs in our schools. He gives the history of some established programs, analyzes ways to judge their effectiveness, and evaluates future goals.

**BLACKS IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD.** BY THEODORE V. PURCELL AND GERALD F. CAVANAGH. (New York: The Free Press, 1973. 355 pages, appendix, tables and index, \$3.95, paper.)

The authors examine black employment patterns in electrical manufacturing, showing what management has done, is doing and could do. Because it comes from such a large industry the data should be applicable to most businesses and industries.

**BEYOND BLACK AND WHITE.** BY JAMES P. COMER. (New York: Quadrangle, 1974. 272 pages, bibliography and index, \$2.95, paper.)

Psychiatrist James Comer has written an analysis of racism in America, searching for a path out of the black and white dilemma, *Beyond Black and White*. His revealing book, part biography, part history, and part social science, already published in hardcover, is welcome in paper.

**THE BLACK PROTEST MOVEMENT.** BY DANIEL W. WYNN. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1974. 258 pages, \$7.50.)

This is a short history of the black struggle, and the various types of protest movements.

**ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE BLACK WORKERS, 1619-1973.** BY PHILIP S. FONER. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974. 435 pages, bibliography and index, \$15.00.)

This is a careful study of the black American worker's relationship to organized labor from colonial times to the present.

## BLACK SEPARATISM

(Continued from page 213)

to abandon that struggle for any fantasy associated with emigration to another land, foreign or domestic, only to begin the struggle all over again. Furthermore, there is no assurance that a "black American nation" in Liberia, or Haiti, or in Mississippi would have less difficulty with whites. In fact, it can be said that the black African nations as now constituted are no more independent of the white nations than the black Americans are of white America; thus the struggle against white domination may not be less difficult in Africa than in America. In the final analysis, the freedom and independence of black people all over the world may ultimately depend on the strength of black Americans, to the extent that their struggle for equal existence is successful. The black separatists must remember the famous injunction of Frederick Douglass: "You must be a man here [in the United States] and force your way to intelligence, wealth and respectability. If you can't do that here, you can't do it there."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Frederick Douglass, quoted in Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

## THE BLACK POLITICIAN

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This, of course, raises the question of the necessity for a viable National Black Political Assembly and, possibly, a black political party. There have been many assertions that blacks would not join such a party. However, in a survey of political attitudes conducted by the writer in Washington, D.C. (a 77 percent black city), in April, 1974, with a matched sample from New Haven, Connecticut (a 5 percent black city), 62.6 percent of the respondents said they would support a black political party in an effort to help the black communities organize nationally.<sup>36</sup> This idea clearly has appeal and may be conceived as a viable alternative in the future; many politicians are beginning now to think of the feasibility of such a party by 1976.

Black politicians apparently need to organize human resources, just as white legislators must mobilize human resources in pursuit of their policy objectives. Both white and black politicians understand the vagaries of attempting to mobilize financial resources, and because of the white politician's greater level of affluence, he has better luck. This is, perhaps, the reason why black politicians must make better use of human resources and rely less upon the tenuousness of personality or prestige. There is a wealth of expertise in the black community that should become

familiar with legislative politics. Here, one thinks of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, the National Association of Black Social Workers, the National Caucus of Black Economists, the Caucus of Black Sociologists, the National Association of Black Scientists, and many many other organizations that should develop and cultivate a perspective to fit the legislative policy framework.

Also, there is a dynamism in community organizations that should be useful at times other than campaigns. In fact, one might argue that as long as the power of these resources is underutilized, legislators will be limited to "introducing" legislation and not passing it. Realistically, in most legislative halls there are a pitiful few blacks and, therefore, coalitions with white politicians have more appeal. But before the "free-floating coalitions" that are so often talked about can be successful, more proficient organization of black constituents is required.

Meanwhile the growth of black political power is at mid-passage, and concerned black legislators and the systems of support for their politics may be clearly identified. But the process of political organization will not wait forever. In fact, the promise of significant community black power, through the elected black politician, may soon fade, and history may move swiftly in other paths that hold out new hope for black liberation.

## BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

(Continued from page 227)

ences I am convinced that black studies are here to stay in one form or another. In some colleges and universities they will become permanent departments with the same kind and degree of respect that other departments now enjoy. In other institutions, they will cease to be considered as separate from the regular curriculum and will consist of individual undergraduate courses offered by the regular departments in the areas of the humanities and the social sciences. In fact, this trend has already begun and is accelerating rapidly. At least one-half of all accredited colleges and universities in the United States (including a considerable number in the southern region) now offer one or more courses in black studies taught by regular departmental members. Such a development during the six-year period 1968 to 1974 is encouraging. But what is most important for the years ahead is to continue to perfect and expand the best of the current arrangements while adding new and more equitable dimensions, such as requiring the integration of the black experience into the curricular offerings on all levels of instruction from kindergarten through graduate school. This indeed must be the crowning effort of the inexorable drive for black studies in American education.

<sup>36</sup> The sample in this survey was 300 in Washington, D.C., and 30 in New Haven, Conn.



## BLACKS AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

*(Continued from page 223)*

represented among private household servants, clothing pressers, cleaning service workers, health aides, and practical nurses. On the other hand, they are greatly underrepresented among managers and sales workers.

The jobs usually open to black females are the lowest paying in the economy. On the average, a black woman earns about 75 percent of the pay of a black man and about 50 percent of the pay of a white man.

The prospects are that the number of black women participating in the labor force will increase. While the women's liberation movement will certainly have some positive effects on black women's jobs and pay, it is certain, nevertheless, that the general result will be an increase in better paying jobs for white women relative to white men and at the expense of black men. Thus, the overall gap between black and white incomes will increase as a consequence.

The American public has come to accept the dictum that the pay scale must be correlated with years of schooling. Thus, schooling becomes a powerful tool for rationing the rewards of labor among workers of any given race.

For this reason, the black race for credentials in the nation's schools and colleges became intense during the 1960's and the 1970's. Black college enrollment increased by leaps and bounds and today stands at almost 700,000. At the same time, more black youngsters are graduating from high schools. But whites as well as blacks were entering the nation's colleges in large numbers. Thus the net effects of improving the schooling posture of blacks are not clear.

Bear in mind that specific years of schooling are required for specific jobs. Thus schooling also becomes a powerful way of separating the races, because blacks tend to have less schooling than whites. In any event, increased years of schooling for blacks tend to widen the distribution of income among black families, rather than to improve the relative position of blacks in regard to whites.

The age of an individual also plays a determining role in both job placement and pay. In general, the lifetime earning cycle rises with age until the early 50's and then declines through the retirement period. The young are regarded as novices and must work their way up the ladder to better jobs. It is believed that on-the-job training, on-the-job experience and other informal learning experiences will improve the capabilities of the worker.

Black workers exhibit the same lifetime earning

patterns as other workers in the society, although the black lifetime earning curve is lower than the white. But the black population is a relatively young population. Its median age is less than 21 years of age. Black youth in the lower earning brackets (say, 19 to 25 years of age) will constitute a large proportion of the black labor force in the decade ahead.

The greatest barrier, indeed the only real barrier, to black economic opportunity in America has been and will continue to be white racism. This conclusion is not new; it was summarized in the Kerner Commission Report.<sup>4</sup> To the extent that all Americans, operating through political activity, economic pressures, legislative forums, and social programs, understand this and meet the challenge there will be hope for the future. Meantime, blacks must intensify their efforts in the areas where they have some power to effect change. Schooling, on-the-job training, apprenticeship programs, union membership, litigation under appropriate civil rights statutes—these are some of the avenues for immediate action. But in the long run improvement will ultimately depend on the degree that blacks achieve the power to make decisions about the employment of blacks. ■

## A HOUSE OF TWISTED MIRRORS

*(Continued from page 231)*

have traditionally called upon for survival. But even here there is often a regrettably frivolous treatment of serious problems and a subtle resemblance to white daytime serials in the spick-and-span coziness of the home and the well-dressed housewife who doesn't work. Nevertheless, the program is still developing and shows promise of becoming a more and more truthful rendition of black life.

The key, of course, to black image in both film and television is more black writers, directors, and producers, and freedom in which to work. For only the black artist can tell the story. Only the black artist. Truth, we know, is many sided, and it takes great courage to show a side that is unpopular, especially in the money-mad world of the mass media, a world whose distinguishing features are racism and artistic mediocrity.

In all the media, in fact, the pattern is painfully clear. The farther one travels from the black folk and the closer one gets to the American public, the more the black image is distorted. And this will be the case until blacks attain decision-making power in the mass media, and/or until the vast majority of white people are willing to accept the truth about blacks, which is also the truth about themselves. Neither possibility is imminent. Meanwhile, we—all of us—must continue to view ourselves through the twisted and contorted mirrors of the media. And accept the aberrations as truth. ■

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

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# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

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*A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of September, 1974, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.*

## INTERNATIONAL

### Bank for International Settlements

Sept. 10—Moving to increase financial confidence and protect international banking structures, the 10 central bank governors of the leading non-Communist nations announce that "means are available and will be used if and when necessary" to help banks in trouble through no fault of their own.

### Commonwealth of Nations

Sept. 25—A 2-day meeting of the finance ministers of 34 Commonwealth countries begins in Ottawa, Canada; the conference is preparing for the annual meeting of members of the International Monetary Fund next week in Washington, D.C.

### Cyprus Crisis

Sept. 1—Turkish Cypriote Vice President Rauf Denktash postpones a scheduled meeting with Greek Cypriote President Glafkos Clerides.

Sept. 6—Clerides and Denktash meet for the first time since the Geneva conference collapsed Aug. 13. They agree to allow the International Red Cross to draw up a plan for the immediate release of all prisoners and detainees.

Sept. 16—245 prisoners are exchanged in Nicosia under the supervision of the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

Sept. 20—Greek Cypriote and Turkish Cypriote leaders agree to release all political prisoners of war beginning September 23.

Sept. 22—About 8,000 Turkish Cypriotes who sought asylum in July in a British base on Cyprus demand permission to return to Turkey. Britain maintains their release is contingent on an overall settlement of the refugee problem.

### European Security Conference

Sept. 9—After a 6-week recess, the European Security Conference resumes negotiations in Geneva.

### International Monetary Fund

Sept. 29—A 2-day meeting of finance ministers from the U.S., West Germany, Britain, Japan and France ends. No agreement is reached on joint action on the problems caused by rising oil prices.

The managing director of the fund warns that the oil-producing countries must increase their contributions to the fund if the IMF is going to be able to lend money to the oil-consuming nations.

### Middle East Crisis

Sept. 15—The Lebanese Ministry of Defense reports 2 Israeli fighter-bomber attacks in southeast Lebanon.

Sept. 22—In a statement issued today, King Hussein of Jordan refuses to meet in Cairo with Palestinian, Egyptian and Syrian leaders to adopt a common stand on further military disengagement in the Middle East. Jordan claims the right to speak for Palestinians in Jordan and on the

West Bank of the Jordan River in Israeli-occupied territory.

Sept. 26—The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine withdraws from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in a move that challenges the leadership of the chairman, Yasir Arafat.

### North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

(See *Greece; U.S., Administration*)

### Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

(See also *Saudi Arabia*)

Sept. 13—Meeting in Vienna, 12 of the 13 members of OPEC agree to a 5 percent rise in the taxes they impose on oil produced and sold by foreign companies operating in their countries. Saudi Arabia has refused to impose an increase in taxes.

### United Nations

(See also *Intl, Cyprus Crisis; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 17—The 29th General Assembly of the United Nations begins a 13-week session. Guinea-Bissau is admitted as a new member of the U.N.

Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria is elected president of the Assembly.

### War in Indochina

Sept. 25—The U.S. gives \$4 million to the financially troubled International Commission on Control and Supervision. Two days ago the South Vietnamese government gave \$2.8 million to the commission. North Vietnam and the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government have refused to contribute because, they charge, the U.S. has continued to "interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam" and has refused to make postwar "reparations" to North Vietnam.

## ARGENTINA

Sept. 6—Mario Firmenich, leader of the left-wing Peronist guerrilla group, the Monteneros, announces that the group is going underground in order to fight the government of President Isabel Martinez de Perón. Last week the government banned the group's weekly magazine, *La Causa Peronista*.

Sept. 16—4 people are killed by terrorist bombs. Over 50 bombings are reported in Buenos Aires on the 19th anniversary of the 1955 overthrow of Juan Perón.

Sept. 18—The government appoints another conservative rector to the University of Buenos Aires, in an attempt to dispel the left-wing leadership in the university.

Sept. 19—Juan and Jorge Born, directors of one of the country's largest grain exporting firms, are kidnapped.

Sept. 20—President Perón addresses a trade unionist rally of about 50,000. She appeals for an end to political violence.

Sept. 25—A former rector of the University of Buenos Aires and his wife fly to Mexico City after seeking asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Buenos Aires.

Sept. 27—Silvio Frondizi, a brother of former Argentine President Arturo Frondizi, is assassinated by armed kidnappers.

## CANADA

(See also *Japan*)

Sept. 20—The Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, Donald S. Macdonald, announces a price increase of 40 cents per 1,000 cubic feet of natural gas. U.S. consumers use about 40 percent of the total Canadian output.

## CHILE

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 4—A report by the International Commission of Jurists criticizes Chile's military tribunal. The report claims that only 1 of the 7 tribunal members is trained in law, and that a defendant has no right to appeal the tribunal's decision.

Sept. 11—Chief of State General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte announces the end of some martial laws that have been in effect since the military coup of 1973. The night curfew will remain in effect and the military courts will continue to administer the law. Political prisoners will be released if they leave the country and if Cuba and the Soviet Union release an equal number of political prisoners.

Sept. 30—General Carlos Prats González, former army commander, and his wife are killed by terrorists. Prats had been a supporter of the late President Salvador Allende Gossens.

## CHINA

Sept. 5—U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) reports that Deputy Premier Ten Hsiao-ping told a U.S. congressional delegation in Peking that the physical condition of Premier Chou En-lai has worsened since mid-summer.

Sept. 7—According to *The New York Times*, a directive of the Communist party's Central Committee calls for the deletion of Confucian references from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Sept. 24—An informal trade agreement is concluded between China and the Philippines. Under the accord, China will buy raw materials from the Philippines and sell it oil. The 2 countries do not have diplomatic relations.

Sept. 30—Premier Chou En-lai makes his first public appearance in 2 months, at a reception marking the 25th anniversary of Communist rule in China.

## CUBA

(See *Chile; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## EGYPT

(See also *Intl., Middle East Crisis*)

Sept. 10—During a visit to the northern end of the Suez Canal, President Anwar Sadat says that he is planning to reopen the canal to shipping whether or not Israel withdraws from her positions in Sinai. The canal should be cleared and open by April, 1975.

## ETHIOPIA

Sept. 11—The armed forces committee, in a radio and television broadcast, accuses Emperor Haile Selassie of holding large sums of money in foreign banks.

Sept. 12—Emperor Haile Selassie is deposed by the armed forces committee. Police take him from the palace peacefully.

The armed forces committee asks Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, the Emperor's son, to return from Geneva to be crowned as a figurehead king.

Parliament is dissolved and strikes and demonstrations are banned.

Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom, chief of staff of the armed forces, is named to head the Cabinet. His provisional military government will rule until elections are held. No date is set for the elections.

Sept. 14—Haile Selassie is held prisoner by the army's Fourth Division, along with 160 ministers from previous administrations who are charged with corruption and maladministration.

Sept. 16—University students in the capital protest the delay in returning to civilian rule and demand a speedy court-martial for Selassie. Soldiers block the demonstrations.

Sept. 20—The provisional military government pledges not to nationalize foreign property or investments; however, the aristocracy must surrender its money to the people.

Sept. 25—Because of lack of support, the general strike called by the Confederation of Labor Unions (representing 140,000 workers) ends after 6 hours. The union was protesting the arrest of 3 of its leaders.

## FRANCE

(See also *Netherlands*)

Sept. 25—The French Cabinet orders a cutback in oil imports to reduce home and industrial heating oil consumption. The government sets a \$10.1-billion limit for spending on oil imports in 1975. The newly formed Agency for Energy Consumption will monitor the factory consumption of heavy industrial fuel.

## GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (East)

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

(See *Greece*)

## GREECE

(See also *Intl., Cyprus Crisis*)

Sept. 3—Andreas Papandreou, son of former Premier Andreas Papandreou, announces the formation of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement. The party will campaign in the up-coming elections (the first held in 10 years) for positions in the new government. No date has been set for the elections; it is believed they will be held by the end of the year.

Sept. 9—Foreign Minister George Mavros, on a visit to Bonn, receives a \$70-million development grant over the next 3 years from West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Sept. 11—Greece formally withdraws from the Defense Planning Committee of NATO. NATO Secretary General Joseph M. A. H. Luns accepts as final Greece's decision to withdraw from NATO's military structure.

Sept. 14—The Greek government announces that it has decided to rejoin the Council of Europe. Greece withdrew in 1969.

Sept. 23—The government issues decrees legalizing the Communist party, outlawed since 1947, and restoring freedom of action to all political parties.



## GUINEA-BISSAU

(See also *Intl, U.N.*)

Sept. 10—Portuguese Guinea is granted independence from Portugal. She becomes the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Luiz de Almeida Cabral heads the new government, which has already been recognized by more than 100 countries.

## HONDURAS

Sept. 21—An international airlift begins to assist the victims of the hurricane that hit the country September 18 and 19. 5,000 people are believed to have died; at least 50,000 are homeless.

## INDIA

(See also *U.S.; Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 7—The upper and lower houses of Parliament vote to amend the constitution to give the protectorate of Sikkim associate status.

Sept. 12—Talks resume between Indian and Pakistani officials for the restoration of travel facilities and telecommunications between the 2 countries. Talks were broken off by Pakistan when India exploded an atomic device on May 18.

Sept. 14—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi orders the Central Bureau of Intelligence to investigate accounts of bribery and cheating by Congress party members.

Sept. 24—India and Portugal agree to reestablish diplomatic relations, broken off in 1961 when Indian forces invaded Goa.

## IRAN

Sept. 18—Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi begins a 17-day diplomatic trip to Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, and India.

Sept. 26—The Shah declares that "no one can dictate to us," refusing to heed U.S. President Gerald Ford's plea for reductions in oil prices.

## ISRAEL

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 3—The Most Reverend Hilarion Capucci, Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Vicar of Jerusalem, is indicted for maintaining contact with foreign agents, carrying and possessing illegal weapons, and performing a service for an unlawful association. He is accused of gunrunning for the Black September terrorist organization and the Palestinian Al Fatah group.

Sept. 10—Premier Yitzhak Rabin arrives in the U.S. for talks with U.S. President Gerald Ford, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger.

Military maneuvers continue as the Israelis hold a test mobilization on the Golan Heights.

## ITALY

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## JAPAN

(See also *Korea, South; Netherlands*)

Sept. 12—Premier Kakuei Tanaka leaves for a 16-day tour of Mexico, Brazil, and Canada, with a stopover in the U.S.

Sept. 17—The government refuses to acknowledge or to deny newspaper reports that Japan is going to borrow \$1 billion from a major Middle East oil-producing country, believed to be Saudi Arabia. Japan needs the money to cover her continually increasing oil import costs.

Sept. 23—Premier Kakuei Tanaka arrives in Canada for talks on improved economic and political relations.

## JORDAN

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

## KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (South)

(See also *Japan*)

Sept. 19—The Japanese government offers South Korea 2 expressions of regret, thus ending the diplomatic dispute over the attempted assassination of President Park Chung Hee on August 15 by a North Korean who lived in Japan.

Sept. 26—Some 1,000 Roman Catholics demonstrate, demanding political reforms and the release of political prisoners.

## LEBANON

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

Sept. 25—Premier Takieddin Solh submits the resignation of his Cabinet to President Suleiman Franjeh. Last week 4 members of the Cabinet resigned because they believe the widespread ownership of guns among civilians endangers Lebanese security.

## LIBYA

Sept. 7—The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, makes his first public appearance before foreign officials since he was relieved of political duties in April, 1974. (See "Libya," in *Current History*, June, 1974, p. 281.)

## MEXICO

Sept. 7—José Guadalupe Zuno Hernández, the father-in-law of President Luis Echeverría Alvarez, is released unharmed by leftist terrorists who kidnapped him 11 days ago. None of the terrorists' ransom demands were met.

Sept. 14—Union members receive a 22-percent pay increase after threatening a nationwide strike.

## NETHERLANDS, THE

Sept. 13—The French ambassador in the Hague and 10 others are taken hostage by 3 armed Japanese terrorists. The terrorists demand the release from a French prison of Yutaka Furuya, a member of the underground Japanese Red Army.

Sept. 18—The 3 terrorists release their 11 prisoners. With Furuya, they arrive in Damascus and turn themselves over to Palestinian guerrillas for safe conduct to a country of their choice.

## NEW ZEALAND

Sept. 6—The governing Labor party elects Wallace E. Rowling to succeed the late Norman E. Kirk as Prime Minister. Kirk died August 31.

## NICARAGUA

Sept. 3—Incomplete returns in yesterday's presidential elections show General Anastasio Somoza Debayle leading his opponent, Conservative party candidate Edmundo Paguaga-Irias, by a 20-to-1 margin. Since 1971, Somoza has been the power behind the ruling triumvirate.

## PAKISTAN

(See also *India*)

Sept. 25—Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announces the merger of the state of Hunza with Pakistan.

**PHILIPPINES, THE**(See also *China*)

- Sept. 3—Roman Catholic bishops petition President Ferdinand E. Marcos to restore civil liberties and to lift the martial law that has been in effect since September, 1972.
- Sept. 18—The Supreme Court upholds as constitutional President Marcos's assumption of emergency powers in 1972. The case was brought to the Court by a Senator and 30 others who were arrested after the imposition of martial law.
- Sept. 21—Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile says that armed Muslim rebel bands and the Communist New People's Army have clashed with government forces in southern Mindanao. He claims there is an effort to establish a united front in opposition to President Marcos.

**PORTUGAL**(See also *India*)

- Sept. 28—President António de Spínola cancels a planned demonstration by right-wing supporters as Communists and leftist military groups exert mounting pressure. Leftists set up road blocks, preventing conservatives from entering the capital city, and military units begin a search for weapons.
- Sept. 30—President Spínola resigns; he has failed to consolidate the support of conservatives in his continuing battle against leftist military and political groups. Spínola is replaced by General Francisco da Costa Gomes, the chief of the defense staff.

**Portuguese Territories**(See also *Guinea-Bissau*)**MOZAMBIQUE**

- Sept. 7—Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) leader Samora Machel, meeting in Zambia, sign an agreement granting Mozambique independence on June 25, 1975, and giving immediate power to the Liberation Front as the acting transitional government. The agreement ends 10 years of guerrilla fighting between the Portuguese forces and the Liberation forces.
- Sept. 8—White rightists in the capital city protest the African nationalist government.
- Sept. 12—After the collapse of the white resistance movement, Liberation Front troops patrol the streets to maintain peace and to prepare for the transfer of power.
- Sept. 20—Joaquim A. Chissano, the third-ranking member of Frelimo, is sworn in as Premier. He will act as head of the interim government until independence is granted in 1975.

**SAN MARINO**

- Sept. 8—Communists win 60 seats in the Great and General Council and Socialists win 8 seats. The Christian Democrats, with 25 seats, and the Social Democrats, with 9 seats, can form a center-left coalition with the Socialists.

**SAUDI ARABIA**(See also *Intl, OPEC; Japan*)

- Sept. 17—Sheik Ahmad Zaki Yamani, the Petroleum Minister, confirms reports that Saudi Arabia is raising the price of "participation oil"—the oil owned by the government and sold to oil companies—from 93 percent of posted prices to 94.864 percent. About 60 percent of Saudi oil falls in this category. The price increase of nearly 22 cents a barrel reflects the Saudi policy of keep-

ing rates on a par with prices charged by other Gulf states, according to Sheik Zaki, and does not conflict with the government's desire to lower the price of oil.

**SPAIN**

- Sept. 2—Declared cured of his recent illness, 81-year-old Francisco Franco reassumes full power as Chief of State.
- Sept. 9—In Barcelona, police arrest 67 leftists meeting secretly.
- Sept. 14—Madrid police charge that the Basque nationalist guerrilla organization, ETA, is responsible for yesterday's bomb explosion in a central Madrid restaurant that killed 11 persons and injured 82.

**SYRIA**(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)**TUNISIA**

- Sept. 14—The congress of the Socialist Destour party, the nation's only authorized party, unanimously elects Habib Bourguiba president of the party for life; under constitutional provisions now being formulated, he will automatically become President for life.

**TURKEY**(See also *Intl, Cyprus Crisis*)

- Sept. 1—Deputy Premier Necmettin Erbakan tells a news conference that he and 6 fellow members of the Islamic parties will not authorize Premier Bulent Ecevit's visit to Scandinavia.
- Sept. 18—Ecevit resigns, breaking up the coalition of his socialist Republican People's party and the Islamic National Salvation party.
- Sept. 20—President Fahri Koruturk asks Ecevit to form a new government.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman announces that Turkey has agreed "in principle" to adopt a method of harvesting opium poppies that will minimize illegal diversion of opium gum to the illegal opium market.

**U.S.S.R.**(See also *Chile; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

- Sept. 7—Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev reveals that "not a bad harvest" is expected this year, and that the goal of 205,600,000 tons of grain for 1974 will be met.
- Sept. 14—In Moscow, a U.S. spokesman reveals that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have initialed an agreement providing for the free flow of information during their planned joint manned space flight in 1975.
- Sept. 15—Bulldozers and dump trucks break up an unauthorized outdoor exhibit of nonconformist art.
- Sept. 20—In response to protest from abroad, Soviet authorities agree to permit the nonconformist art students to exhibit their work.
- Sept. 29—An outdoor art show by modern and unorthodox artists takes place under official Soviet sanction.

**UNITED KINGDOM****Great Britain**

- Sept. 11—Prime Minister Harold Wilson's Labour government proposes pension reforms and increased government spending.
- Sept. 18—The government calls for new elections for the House of Commons to be held October 10. The Labour government hopes for a clear majority in the 2d general election within 7 months.
- Sept. 20—Queen Elizabeth dissolves Parliament.

Sept. 23—The election campaign formally begins.

Negotiations break down and the 13-day-old unauthorized strike of workers continues at the Ford Motor Company plants near London and Liverpool, affecting 53,000 workers. Workers are demanding pay increases even though they agreed to their present wage scale 7 months ago.

## UNITED STATES

### Administration

(See also *Economy, Legislation, Political Scandal*)

Sept. 5—The annual Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, issued today, show that "serious" crimes rose 6 percent in the U.S. in 1973, a 47-percent increase over the last 5 years.

Sept. 12—President Gerald Ford promotes his White House counsel, Philip Buchen, to Cabinet rank.

Sept. 16—A conditional amnesty plan is proclaimed by President Ford for those who evaded the draft and deserted the military during the Vietnam War, from August 4, 1964, to March 28, 1973. The President also establishes a 9-member clemency board to hear the cases of those already convicted or punished for desertion or evasion of the draft.

President Gerald Ford appoints General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. The defense planning committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) approves the appointment, effective December 15.

Sept. 20—President Ford announces the appointment of Ronald H. Nessen, a television newsman, as press secretary to the President.

Sept. 24—Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen announces that Donald Rumsfeld will succeed General Alexander Haig, Jr., as an assistant to the President with Cabinet rank. Rumsfeld will not replace Haig as White House chief of staff.

Sept. 26—President Ford names General Frederick C. Weyand as army chief of staff, succeeding the recently deceased General Creighton Abrams.

Sept. 27—President Ford opens a 2-day summit conference on inflation in Washington; nearly 800 nongovernment delegates representing all aspects of American economic thought are in attendance.

Sept. 28—The White House conference on inflation ends.

The President announces the creation of an Economic Policy Board to coordinate the economic policies of the federal government. He names Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon as chairman of the new board.

The President also establishes a White House Labor and Management Committee and names John T. Dunlop, director of the defunct Cost of Living Council, as coordinator of the council.

He also names Albert Rees of Princeton University as head of the Council on Wage and Price Stability.

### Civil Rights

Sept. 12—The start of Boston's busing program to integrate its public schools is marked by violence in South Boston. Mayor Kevin White bans gatherings of more than 3 people in the disturbed area.

Sept. 16—U.S. District Judge Fred J. Nichol dismisses the charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks, leaders of the Indian takeover of Wounded Knee, S.D., on February 23, 1973.

Sept. 19—The Federal Communications Commission decides it will not renew the operating license of the state agency that operates 8 educational television stations in Alabama

because of the stations' history of discrimination against blacks in programming and hiring.

### Economy

(See also *Administration*)

Sept. 5—21 economists meet at the White House in the 1st of a series of preliminary White House conferences before the National Conference on Inflation.

Sept. 11—President Ford meets with 28 labor leaders in the 2d of his preliminary meetings on inflation.

Sept. 12—The Ford Motor Company raises prices on its 1975 models an average of 7.7 percent; the Chrysler Corporation and General Motors have already raised 1975 model prices an average of 8.5 percent.

In the sharpest monthly rise in a year, wholesale prices advanced 3.9 percent in August, according to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. The prices of food and feed and farm products rose by 7.6 percent.

Sept. 13—A broad coalition of industry groups affected by the depression in the housing industry meet in Atlanta, Georgia, with government officials, in the 3d meeting prior to President Ford's general conference on inflation; they present a 9-point program designed to help the housing industry.

Sept. 18—The Commerce Department reports that housing starts fell sharply in August, to 1.13 million, from 1.33 million in July; this is the lowest figure since January, 1970.

The U.S. balance of payments for the 2d quarter of 1974 shows a deficit of \$2.7 billion, according to a report issued today by the Commerce Department.

Sept. 20—The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the Consumer Price Index rose 1.3 percent in August. This is the largest monthly increase since September, 1947, except for short periods immediately after the removal of price controls.

Sept. 25—The Commerce Department reports that in August the country had a record monthly trade deficit of \$1.1 billion.

The Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, followed by the Chase Manhattan Bank, lowers its prime lending rate from 12 percent to 11¼ percent; the 12 percent rate has been in effect since July.

Sept. 27—The Dow Jones industrial index closes at 621.95, its lowest closing since November 9, 1962.

### Foreign Policy

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina; Iran*)

Sept. 4—The U.S. and East Germany establish formal diplomatic relations.

Sept. 7—Atomic Energy Commission officials report the halting of shipments of uranium fuel to India until further clarification of India's policy on nuclear tests.

The *New York Times* reveals that William E. Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, told Congress at a top-level secret hearing last April that the Nixon administration had authorized more than \$8 million for secret activities in Chile between 1970 and 1973 to "destabilize" the government of President Salvador Allende Gossens.

Sept. 13—In Washington, President Ford and Israeli President Yitzhak Rabin conclude 4 days of talks about military and diplomatic problems in the Middle East.

Sept. 16—In a news conference, President Ford admits that the Nixon administration intervened secretly in Chile in 1970 to aid parties opposed to the Marxist government of Salvador Allende.

Sept. 18—In his first address to the U.N. General Assembly, President Ford calls on the nations of the world to unite in a "global strategy for food and energy."

Sept. 20—In Washington, President Ford meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko for the first time.

Sept. 23—Speaking at the Ninth World Energy Conference in Detroit, President Ford says that exorbitant oil prices distort the world economy and risk a worldwide depression.

Appearing before the U.N. General Assembly, Secretary Kissinger reiterates the President's theme.

Sept. 25—President Giovanni Leone of Italy confers with President Ford in Washington on Italy's economic problems.

Sept. 27—Barbara A. Hutchinson, director of the U.S. Information Service in the Dominican Republic, and 7 other persons are kidnapped and held hostage in the Venezuelan consulate, which has been taken over by Dominican left-wing terrorists.

U.S. Senators Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.) and Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.) fly to Cuba for a weekend of conferences with Cuban officials.

### Legislation

Sept. 2—President Gerald Ford signs a pension reform act designed to protect the retirement benefits of 23 million workers. The Employee Benefit Security Act of 1974 will help prevent the loss of pensions from employer bankruptcies and looting by union officials; it will also provide for public disclosure of information about employee benefits for an additional 12 million people.

Sept. 19—Voting 64 to 35, the Senate rejects President Ford's proposal to delay for 3 months a 5.52-percent pay increase for 3.6 million federal employees.

Sept. 23—The Senate Rules Committee opens hearings on the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President of the United States. Rockefeller has listed his total wealth at \$218 million.

Sept. 24—The Senate approves and sends to the White House an \$82.5-billion defense appropriations bill. The house approved the bill on September 23.

Sept. 30—The Senate passes and sends to President Ford for signature a bill to return the nation to standard time. Daylight savings time was put into effect last year to help save energy during the fuel shortage.

President Ford agrees to appear personally before a House subcommittee to answer questions about his pardon of former President Nixon.

### Military

Sept. 25—The murder conviction of former Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr., is reversed by U.S. District Judge J. Robert Elliott because of three major flaws in Calley's prosecution under military law for the slaying of civilians in My Lai, South Vietnam, in 1968.

### Political Scandal

Sept. 3—John W. Dean 3d begins his prison term; he is to serve 1 to 4 years for obstructing justice.

Sept. 8—President Gerald Ford grants former President Richard Nixon an unconditional pardon for all federal crimes that he "committed or may have committed or taken part in" during his term of office, from January 20, 1969, through August 9, 1974.

From San Clemente, California, Richard Nixon accepts the pardon, saying that he was "wrong in not acting more decisively and more forthrightly in dealing with Watergate."

J. F. terHorst, President Ford's recently appointed

White House press secretary, resigns in protest against the pardon granted to Richard Nixon.

Sept. 14—The General Accounting Office declares that the Federal Power Commission improperly allowed natural gas producers to raise rates to millions of customers. The statement follows a 10-month investigation.

Sept. 17—Seeking to quash a subpoena requiring testimony from former President Nixon in a North Carolina civil suit, Nixon's lawyers claim that he is too ill to appear.

Sept. 19—Special Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski obtains a subpoena for Richard Nixon to ensure his appearance as a witness for the prosecution at the Watergate cover-up trial that will open October 1.

Sept. 23—Richard Nixon enters Memorial Hospital Medical Center in Long Beach, California, for tests and treatment of chronic phlebitis.

Sept. 25—Dr. John C. Lungren, former President Richard Nixon's doctor, says that Nixon is suffering from an embolus in the right lung.

Sept. 30—Doctors for former President Nixon say that he will be medically unable to travel to Washington, D.C., to testify in the Watergate cover-up trial.

Nixon is named as a defendant in a civil suit brought by Morton Halperin, a former National Security Council official whose home telephone was tapped between 1969 and 1971.

### Politics

Sept. 16—The Republican National Committee ratifies President Ford's choice of Mary Louise Smith as its first woman chairman, replacing George Bush, who has been named as head of the U.S. liaison mission to China.

Sept. 23—At a news conference in Boston, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) rules out any possibility that he will be a presidential candidate in the 1976 elections.

### VATICAN

Sept. 27—Pope Paul VI opens the fourth Synod of Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome.

### VENEZUELA

Sept. 4—In Caracas, government sources reveal that the government plans to increase income taxes on U.S. and other foreign oil companies operating in Venezuela, but does not plan to increase oil prices. Venezuela now charges foreign oil companies a flat 60-percent income tax; she supplies one-third of U.S. oil imports.

### VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

(See also *Intl. War in Indochina*)

Sept. 8—A committee of publishers, journalists and opposition politicians charges that the government is "oppressing and terrorizing the press, newspapermen, writers and artists."

Sept. 14—In Saigon, a Buddhist-supported movement, the Buddhist National Reconciliation Force for a New Peace Policy, is launched.

Sept. 15—In the city of Hue, thousands of Catholics stage an outdoor meeting to protest alleged government corruption. Police dispersal of a similar rally last week is protested.

Sept. 18—President Nguyen Van Thieu announces the removal or transfer of 9 province chiefs in the wake of growing charges of government corruption.

Sept. 20—After the government issues orders to confiscate 3 Saigon newspapers that published the full text of a Catholic priest's 6-count indictment of Thieu for corruption, hundreds of demonstrators stage an anti-government rally.



# CHANGING BLACK LIVING PATTERNS\*

TABLE II: BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH: 1940-1968

Year	Estimated Number of Registrants	Percentage of Voting-age Black Population
1940	250,000	5
1947	595,000	12
1952	1,008,614	20
1956	1,238,038	25
1960	1,414,052	28
1964	1,907,279	38
1968	3,112,000	62

Source: These figures were taken from the following: Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, *Voter Registration in the South* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1968); D. R. Matthews and J. W. Prothro, *Negroes and the New Southern Politics* (Chicago: Harcourt Brace and World, 1966), p. 18.

TABLE IV: POLITICAL STATUS OF NEGRO POPULATION IN SELECTED CITIES

City	Total Pop. (1970)			Negro %			Negro %		
	Pop.	Percent Negro	VAP <sup>1</sup> (1970)	City Council Seats	Police Forces	(1972)	City Council Seats	Police Forces	(1970)
Baltimore	905,759	46.4	43.7	26.3	13				
Detroit	1,511,482	43.7	39.4	33.3	12				
Cincinnati	452,524	27.6	24.4	37.5	4.9				
Cleveland	750,903	38.3	36.6	36.6	7.7				
Buffalo	462,768	20.4	17.8	20	2				
New York	7,867,760	21.2	19	5.4	7.5				
Newark, N.J.	382,417	54.2	48.6	33.3	15				
Camden	102,551	39.1	34	28.6	—				
Jersey City	260,545	21	17.4	11.1	5.4				
Kansas City, Mo.	507,087	22.1	18.8	33.3	7.5				
St. Louis	622,236	40.9	35.9	20.6	14				
Philadelphia	1,948,609	33.6	31.1	17.6	18.6				
Pittsburgh	520,117	20.2	18.4	22.2	6.4				
Oakland	361,561	34.5	29.4	12.5	7				
Chicago	3,366,957	32.7	28.2	28	16.5				
Wilmington	80,386	43.6	36.7	41.7	11.5				

<sup>1</sup> VAP denotes "Voting Age Population."  
Source: Reports of Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C.

TABLE I: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN SELECTED NORTHERN CITIES, 1910-1940

	Number of Negroes				Percent Negroes in Population			
	1910	1920	1930	1940	1910	1920	1930	1940
New York	91,709	152,467	327,706	458,444	1.9	2.7	4.7	6.1
Chicago	44,103	109,458	233,903	277,731	2	4.1	6.9	8.2
Philadelphia	84,459	134,229	219,599	250,380	5.5	7.4	11.3	13
Detroit	5,741	40,838	120,066	149,119	1.2	4.1	7.7	9.2
St. Louis	43,960	69,854	93,580	108,765	6.4	9	11.4	13.3
Cleveland	8,448	34,451	71,899	84,504	1.5	4.3	8	9.6
Pittsburgh	25,623	37,725	54,983	62,216	4.8	6.4	8.2	9.9
Cincinnati	19,639	30,079	47,818	55,593	5.4	7.5	10.6	12.2
Indianapolis	21,816	34,678	38,967	51,142	9.3	11	12.1	13.2
Los Angeles	7,599	15,579	38,894	63,774	2.4	2.7	3.1	4.2
Newark	9,475	16,977	38,880	45,760	2.7	4.1	8.8	10.6
Gary	383	5,299	17,922	20,394	2.3	9.6	17.8	18.3
Dayton	4,842	9,025	17,077	20,273	4.2	5.9	8.5	9.6
Youngstown	1,936	6,662	14,552	14,615	2.4	5	8.6	8.7

Source: United States Census Reports.

TABLE III: PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN EACH OF THE THIRTY LARGEST CITIES, 1950-1970

	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
New York, N.Y.	10	14	21	Pittsburgh, Pa.	17	20
Chicago, Ill.	14	23	32	San Antonio, Tex.	7	8
Los Angeles, Calif.	9	14	17	San Diego, Calif.	5	7
Philadelphia, Pa.	18	26	33	Seattle, Wash.	3	5
Detroit, Michigan	16	29	43	Buffalo, N.Y.	6	13
Baltimore, Md.	21	35	46	Cincinnati, Ohio	16	22
Houston, Texas	24	23	25	Memphis, Tenn.	37	37
Cleveland, Ohio	16	29	38	Denver, Colo.	4	6
Washington, D.C.	35	54	71	Atlanta, Ga.	37	38
St. Louis, Mo.	18	29	40	Minneapolis, Minn.	1	51
Milwaukee, Wis.	3	8	14	Indianapolis, Ind.	15	21
San Francisco, Calif.	6	10	13	Kansas City, Mo.	12	23
Boston, Mass.	5	9	16	Columbus, Ohio	12	22
Dallas, Texas	13	19	24	Phoenix, Ariz.	5	18
New Orleans, La.	32	37	45	Newark, N.J.	17	34

Source: United States Census Reports.

\* Tables from the article by Martin Kilson, "From Civil Rights to Party Politics," pp. 193 ff. of this issue.

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